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The Verb System of Basic English

CHAD WALSH

Norwegian-American Surnames in Transition

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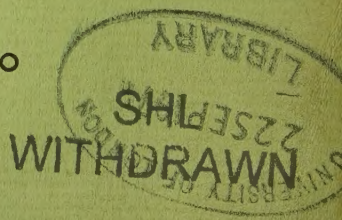
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AMERICAN SPEECH

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THE VERB SYSTEM OF BASIC ENGLISH

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MOST DISCUSSION of Basic English has been either eulogistic or carping. The friends of the system have prophesied an era of clear thought and international friendship; the critics have grown indignant over side issues: the accuracy of the figure '850,' the ethics of copyrighting an international language, and the stylistic effect of Basic English as compared with that of the King James Bible.¹

The time has come when a calmer analysis is needed. Basic English is more and more being used to teach Standard English to foreigners in the United States, and a small but increasing number of colleges is trying to encourage 'accurate thinking' in native American students by having them write in Basic English. Before anyone can decide whether these uses are desirable, the grammar of the language must be looked into, and compared with that of Standard English. Even apart from pedagogical considerations, Basic English is so original an experiment that a descriptive analysis of it has linguistic interest.

This article is confined to the verbs and verbal phrases of BE. The extreme brevity of the BE word list comes largely from the virtual elimination of verbs.² Only eighteen verbs are taken over from StE into BE:³ *come, get, give, go, keep, let, make, put, seem, take, be, do, have, say, see, send, may, will*—with, of course, all the inflexional forms that these verbs have in StE.

In addition, there are many words in BE which can be used in certain

1. An exception is Janet R. Aiken's excellent article, 'Basic and World English,' *American Speech*, 8: 17-21 (Dec. 1933). After making my analysis, I discovered that she had mentioned the principal features of the BE verb system, but since there has been so much interest recently in BE, I feel that a more extended analysis is justified.

2. Mr. Ogden's philosophy of language and meaning has been strongly influenced by Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832), who was suspicious both of abstract words and of verbs. In the Bentham Centenary Lecture, delivered at University College, London, 1932, Mr. Ogden said: '... I would remind you that he [Bentham] regarded the verb as a sort of linguistic eel—a slippery rhetorical luxury, requiring systematic stabilization by auxiliaries.' C. K. Ogden, *Jeremy Bentham*, London, 1932.

3. C. K. Ogden, *Basic English*, London, 1938, inside front cover.

verb-like functions but are restricted by the rules of the system from some of the uses found in StE. Since these words constitute a syntactic twilight zone, they will be taken up later. Meanwhile, it should be remembered that only the eighteen words listed above can be used precisely like ordinary English verbs.

Of these eighteen verbs, ten are singled out under the name of 'operators' (*come, get, give, go, keep, let, make, put, take, do*) and are put to work in many ways to reduce the length of the Basic word-list. They are combined with prepositions, adverbs, nouns, etc., in the various ways that are permitted in StE. *Interject* is not needed, since it can be replaced by the phrase *to put a word in*; instead of *planting* seeds, one *puts* seeds *in the earth*. The verb *break* does not exist in BE, but one of its uses is replaced in *go against the law*. Sometimes a noun object is employed, as in *they put him to death*, the BE equivalent of *they killed him*.

To find the relative frequency of the most common verbal constructions in StE and BE, I copied the first sentence from each page of the BE version of *Japanese Stories*⁴ and the last sentence from each page of the BE version of *International Talks*.⁵ I then chose at random sixty-five of these sentences—containing a considerably larger number of clauses—and classified the verbal constructions found in the StE originals and the BE translations. The passive, being rare, was omitted to avoid complexity, and a few very uncommon constructions were disregarded, but otherwise the figures should give a reasonably accurate idea of the way verbal ideas are expressed in the two forms of English:

RELATIVE FREQUENCY OF VERBAL CONSTRUCTIONS

Construction, with examples	Occurrences	
	StE	BE
1. Verb in all tenses (<i>I go, am going, went, shall go, etc.</i>)	107	83
2. Modal auxiliary plus infinitive without 'to' (<i>I may go, I could have gone, etc.</i>)	15	7
3. Verb plus infinitive (<i>I want to go, etc.</i>)	11	3
4. Verb plus noun (<i>I put the question, etc.</i>)	5	18
5. Verb plus noun plus preposition (<i>I do damage to [the house], etc.</i>)	1	8
6. Verb plus preposition plus noun (<i>I put [him] to death, etc.</i>)	0	4
7. Verb plus preposition-adverb (<i>I gave out, etc.</i>)	2	4
8. Verb plus adjective (<i>I got ready, I made [things] hot, etc.</i>)	2	6
9. Verb plus adjective plus infinitive (<i>I am able to sing, etc.</i>)	3	9

The first three constructions are more common in StE than in BE. Of these, Type 2 (with a modal auxiliary) is especially difficult in English, because some modal auxiliaries are 'defective verbs' or have peculiar

4. Lafcadio Hearn, trans. T. Takata, London, 1933.

5. Wickham Steed, trans. C. K. Ogden, London, 1932.

idiomatic meanings. Probably a foreigner would be grateful to BE for making these words less frequent.

Constructions 1 (the verb in all its tenses) and 3 (verb plus infinitive) are paralleled in the familiar languages of Europe.

Constructions 4-9 are much more common in BE than in StE—in every case at least twice as common, and in one instance eight times more frequent. Evidently it is here that BE finds ways of replacing the forbidden verbs of StE.

Type 4 (*I put the question*) is a familiar construction in many languages, as is seen by the German *ich habe eine Frage gestellt* and the French *j'ai posé une question*.

Type 5 (*I do damage to . . .*) has a more idiomatic twist; a foreigner might find it hard to decide whether one does damage *to*, *at* or *against* a building. The preposition *at* occurs, for example, in *I had a look at him*. Any construction that involves prepositions is likely to differ bewilderingly from language to language. This construction occurred eight times in BE to once in StE.

Type 6 (*I put [him] to death*) also involves a preposition which has to be learned separately for each such phrase.

Type 7 (*I gave out*) is twice as common in BE, and unfortunately it is peculiarly difficult to Frenchmen and other speakers of Romance languages. Most such combinations cannot be analyzed by 'logic.' A foreigner would have to learn *give up* and *give out* as separate words. English has an increasing tendency to develop these combinations, and the idiomatic difficulties are heightened by the multiplicity of unrelated meanings. Some of the BE manuals for foreigners have two pages of pictures to explain the literal and figurative uses of *put up* (*I put up with him* can mean 'I lodged with him' or 'I tolerated him'). There is no lessening of the burden of learning when an unanalyzable verb is replaced by an unanalyzable combination of verb and adverb.

Type 8 (*I got ready, I made [things] hot*) is three times as common in BE as in StE. Here, again, the foreigner pays for having only a short word-list to learn. Such phrases are extremely idiomatic. *I made things hot for him*, if not carefully explained, would suggest the care given to a sick person. The great frequency of *get* in the sense of 'become' in BE is also confusing, since the word retains its other uses ('acquire,' etc.).

Type 9 (*I am able to sing*) is three times as common in BE as in StE. Since this is the way modal auxiliaries (except *may*) are usually replaced, there is a gain in simplicity.

To sum up: BE largely avoids modal auxiliaries, replacing them by a

simpler construction. In every other case, the more difficult constructions are favored by BE. The idiomatic nature of English—a stumbling block often commented on by foreigners—is intensified to such an extent that a large number of phrases must be memorized as though they were separate words.

The 'progressive aspect' (*-ing* form) of the verb is slightly more common in BE than in StE. There is a tendency, for instance, to say *he was living there* instead of *he lived there*. This peculiarity brings up the most interesting way in which BE grammar differs from that of StE and other familiar languages.

In StE there is a formal relationship between the simple and progressive forms of the verb: *I come, I am coming; I came, I was coming*. If a foreigner knows the infinitive, he can form any progressive aspect by using the right form of the verb *to be* plus the unmarked infinitive with *-ing* added (i.e., the present participle). In similar fashion, there is a formal relationship between the active and passive voices: *I see, I am seen; I saw, I was seen*, etc. Here the past participle takes the place of the present participle. The problem confronting a foreigner in these cases is one of grammar, not vocabulary. If he knows the principal parts of an English verb, he can form the progressive aspect or the passive voice. The formal relationship is maintained in English even when verbal phrases replace simple verbs: *I gave up the job, the job was given up by me*, though considerations of style sometimes discourage the more cumbersome constructions.

In BE, a foreigner has both a grammatical and a lexical problem to solve. In some cases, the formal relationship of StE is maintained, but in a very large number of cases a completely different word must be used in certain constructions. A descriptive grammar of BE would have to recognize at least four verbal paradigms corresponding to the type already described for StE:

PARADIGM I

Twelve of the eighteen BE verbs are capable of taking an object, and the constructions are exactly as in StE:

*I took the book.
I was taking the book.*

*The book was taken by me.
The book was being taken by me.*

These twelve verbs can be combined with other words into verbal phrases, just as in StE. The verb *to tolerate* does not exist in BE, but the common phrase *to put up with* replaces it in all constructions:

*I put up with him.
I was putting up with him.*

*He was put up with by me.
He was being put up with by me.*

PARADIGM II

A very large number of StE nouns can be converted into verbs by 'functional shift'; for example, *reply* (*I gave him a reply*) and *to reply* (*I will reply to him*). This is becoming increasingly common. To a limited extent it is permitted in BE. Any of the six hundred BE nouns can form a verbal noun or an adjective by adding *-ing*, if the resulting word already exists in StE: *detail, detailing; move, moving*. Mr. Ogden apparently considers that these *-ing* forms are always nouns or adjectives, though in uses like *I was detailing my ideas* the ordinary grammatical analysis of StE would regard *detailed* as part of a compound verb, since an object follows it.

The six hundred nouns can also add *-ed*, when StE permits this, and the form thus produced is called an adjective. In BE it is permissible to say *my ideas were detailed by me*, but never *I detailed* (or *have detailed*) *my ideas*, for there the verbal function of the *-ed* form is obvious. Its use would be a clear abandonment of the rule which permits only eighteen verbs.

The result is what, from a StE viewpoint, seems a mixed paradigm. Let us take the StE verb *to question*, and see what it may be compared to in BE:

I put a question to him.
I was questioning him.

He was questioned by me.
He was being questioned by me.

PARADIGM III

A number of past participles are included in the BE list of adjectives, but the underlying verb is lacking in the 850 words. For instance, *married* is given but *marry* is not.

The past participle can be used for what in StE are commonly called passive constructions, but all active constructions require a phrase to avoid the underlying verb. As an example, take the StE expression *to break (the law)* and see how it is treated in BE:

I went against the law.
I was going against the law.

The law was broken by me.
The law was being broken by me.

PARADIGM IV

Finally, there are a few present participles among the BE adjectives, but the other forms of the underlying verb are lacking. An example is *boiling* (as in *boiling water*), which is permitted, while *boil* and *boiled* cannot be used. The result of this is that the progressive aspect of the active voice may be expressed, as in StE, but all other situations require a phrase. This is seen in the BE equivalents for the StE verb *to hang* (i.e., 'execute by hanging'):

*I put him to death by hanging.
I was hanging him.*

*He was put to death by me by hanging.
He was being put to death by me by hanging.*

In the light of everything that has been said about the verb system of BE, it might be interesting to compare a few passages of StE and BE. I shall first take the first two paragraphs of *International Talks* (pp. 14-17) and italicize the BE verb or verbal phrase in all cases in which it is not exactly the same as the StE original. The reader can see for himself how often the change produces a simplification or a greater complexity.

StE

I wish that people who talk and write about 'reparations' or 'war debts' could be made to tell an elementary school what it is all about. Then they would have to clear their own minds and to be simple. If they really knew what they were talking about, I think they would say something like this:—

Not so very long ago there was a Great War. It began because everybody in Europe was afraid of everybody else. All nations were armed to the teeth, and all feared that others might want to lord it over them. At last two of the nations, Austria and Germany, thought they could hit the others so hard and so quickly as to knock them down. They did a lot of damage. But the others hit back harder, forced Germany and Austria to sign a paper saying they had 'begun it,' and made them promise to pay for the damage done. This promise to pay for damage was called 'reparations.'

BE

It would be a good thing if persons talking and writing about 'reparations' or 'war debts' were made to say what it is all about to boys and girls at school. Then they would have to get their ideas clear and be simple. If they had a true knowledge of what they were talking about, it seems to me that they would say something like this:—

Not so very long back there was a Great War. *It was started* because every nation in Europe was in fear of all the rest. They were fully armed and all *had the same fear*—that others might *have designs to get control* of them. At last two of the nations, Austria and Germany, *made up their minds to give* the others such a hard and sudden *blow* that they *would go down* before it. They did a great amount of damage. But the others *gave back harder blows* and *made* Germany and Austria *put their names to* a paper saying that these two countries *were responsible for 'starting it,' and give an undertaking to make payment* for damage done. This undertaking *to make payment* for damage was *named 'reparations.'*

Here is the last paragraph of Lafcadio Hearn's 'Ubazakura' (*Japanese Stories*, pp. 84-85), with italics used as before:

StE

After the funeral of O-Sodé, a young cherry-tree,—the finest that could be found,—was planted in the garden of Saihōji by the parents of O-Tsuyu. The tree grew and flourished; and on the sixteenth day of the second month of the following year,—the anniversary of O-Sodé's death,—it blossomed in a wonderful way. So it continued to blossom for two hundred and fifty-four years,—always upon the sixteenth day of the second month;—and its flowers, pink and

BE

After the body of O-Sodé had been put under the earth, a young *cherry-tree* [foot-note: A tree which comes into flower in spring, and later gives small stone-fruit],—the best *it was possible to get*,—was planted in the garden of Saihōji by the father and mother of O-Tsuyu. The tree *became tall and beautiful*; and on the sixteenth day of the second month of the year after,—the very day of O-Sodé's death,—it *came into flower* in a surprising way. It *went on flowering* in this way for

white, were like the nipples of a woman's breasts, bedewed with milk. And the people called it *Ubazakura*, the Cherry-tree of the Milk-Nurse.

two hundred and fifty-four years,—every year on the sixteenth day of the second month;—and its flowers, red and white, were like the ends of a woman's milk-vessels, wet with milk. And the men gave it the name of *Ubazakura*, the Cherry-tree of the Milk-Mother.

This article has by no means been a complete analysis of the BE verb system, but enough material has probably been examined to justify several conclusions:

(1) Admittedly, the use of phrases instead of verbs greatly reduces the number of separate words which a foreigner must learn. If it were not for this feature of BE, the word-list would have to go considerably beyond 850 words.

(2) The reduction of the learning burden achieved in this way cannot be taken at its face value. The phrases which replace verbs are often extremely idiomatic, and have to be learned as though they were compound words. A foreigner would probably find it easier to remember *damage the house* than *do damage to the house*. Phrases of the verb-plus-adverb type, such as *give out* and *put up with*, run counter to the language habits of Romance speakers, and the frequency of such constructions in BE accentuates one of the most difficult parts of StE grammar.

(3) The most perplexing feature of BE grammar, and the one hardest to justify from a common-sense viewpoint, is the system of four paradigms already described. If functional shift is going to be permitted at all, it should be allowed as freely as in StE. The complicated set of rules which regulate its use establish wholly unnecessary difficulties. Because of the rule excluding all verbs except the eighteen on the Basic list, clear-cut functional shift does not occur, but a limited application of it is made in the case of the words which can be formed in *-ed* and *-ing* from the 850 words. This practice makes BE sound as much like StE as possible, but constitutes a very confusing border-line zone of grammar.

The idea of a nucleus word-list to be used as an introduction to StE and as a defining vocabulary has much merit, and we should be grateful to BE for helping to develop the method. But we can also learn from the mistakes of BE. The ideal system of teaching English to foreigners will not create difficulties which are lacking in StE. On the contrary, it will emphasize the normal grammatical patterns, and will eagerly take advantage of useful devices like functional shift. By carefully teaching this feature of English grammar, the productivity of a minimum word list could be enormously increased, and the foreigner would get a feeling for one of the most basic patterns of the language.

THE PHONEME 'T': A STUDY IN THEORY AND METHOD

GEORGE L. TRAGER

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THERE STILL exists among many linguists, and especially among persons who, while not linguists, are peripherally concerned with linguistics, the idea that phonemics is some kind of mentalistic or psychological exercise, and has little if anything to do with science. This idea, of course, is completely mistaken, for phonemics, like every other part of linguistics, is a rigidly objective analytical procedure, by means of which phonetic data are classified and made usable in more complex procedures such as morphology.

It is my purpose to present as a model of such procedure an analysis of those phonetic phenomena in my speech which are summarized by a statement of the form 'The phoneme /t/ consists of the following allophones: . . .' This particular phoneme is chosen because it presents a wide range of phonetic values and because it necessitates particularly rigid, and completely objective, application of the guiding principles. These principles must be briefly set forth in order to make the argument comprehensible.

2. By means of data obtained from various sciences other than linguistics, such as physics and physiology and their branches, we know that certain organs of speech go through specific processes and produce specific noises; each of the components of a noise of this type can be called a SOUND-FEATURE. Sound-features are such effects as voicing, voicelessness, stop articulation, spirant articulation, affrication, aspiration, release, onset, etc. Fixed kinds of combinations of these sound-features are used in language; these combinations or summations are called SOUND-TYPES. Thus the aspirated [t'] of *tip* is a sound-type, consisting of the sound-features of stopness, alveolarness, voicelessness, fortisness, aspirated release. The study of sound-types is the first part of linguistics—PHONETICS.

The next step is to group sound-types into larger classes. This is done by a process which may be called COLLOCATION: collocation examines the possible combinations of the elements being studied, by means of SELECTION and JUXTAPOSITION: selection states which elements may occur in a given situation; juxtaposition indicates the sequences and combinations found. The study of the collocation of sound-types is PHONEMICS; a formal definition may be given: *Phonemics is the branch of general phonology dealing*

with the classes of sound-types established by the processes of collocation (selection and juxtaposition).

Phonetics and phonemics are both essential parts of any linguistic analysis; they constitute the phonology. Phonology may also include a third and more complex branch, morphophonemics; but there are some who argue that this is a part of grammar (morphology, etc.), and we need not concern ourselves with it here.

3. When we examine the sound-types of a language we find that they do not all occur freely in all possible conditions. Some occur only in one kind of situation, others elsewhere. This is what we mean by selection.

The procedure is as follows: we list each sound-type and the situation in which it occurs; that is, we state the rules of selection governing its use. We then find, for each given situation, which sound-types are distinctive (serve to identify different speech elements—that is, differentiate meanings). We then bring together phonetically similar sound-types that are in complementary distribution, forming classes which contrast with each other. These classes are the PHONEMES. A formal definition is: *A phoneme is a selectional class of complementarily distributed, phonetically similar, and congruently patterned sound-types; it contrasts and is mutually exclusive with every similar class in the language, with some or all of which it enters into juxtapositional classes.*

In this definition, *selectional* refers to the process of selection discussed above. *Complementarily distributed* means that the sound-types never occur in contrast in the same situation; thus in English [p'] occurs initially and in certain other cases, while non-aspirated [p] occurs after stressed vowels internally, and lenis [b] is found only after [s]. *Phonetically similar* means involving at least one sound-feature in common: the sounds just mentioned are all voiceless labial stops (three sound-features in common). *Congruently patterned* refers to arrangement in the juxtapositional classes mentioned at the end of the definition: thus the three kinds of labial stops mentioned occur in similar sequences and combinations to three kinds of velar stops ([k', k, ɣ]). *Contrasts with* means that meanings may be distinguished; for example, in English [p'] and [b] contrast (*pit*, *bit*), while [p'] and [p] do not; in Chinese [p'] and [p] contrast, but [b] is just a non-distinctive variety of [p]. *Mutually exclusive* refers to the fact that no one sound-type occurring in any given situation may belong to more than one phoneme; cf. B. Bloch, 'Phonemic overlapping,' *American Speech*, 16: 278-284 (1941). The order of the statements in the definition is also the order of procedure and importance: if complementary distribution does not completely determine the phonemic appurtenance of a sound-type, we next try phonetic similarity, and then congruent patterning.

In the rest of this paper, symbols for phonemes are inclosed between slant lines, / /; this is the practice adopted by the present author and B. Bloch in 'The syllabic phonemes of English,' *Language*, 17: 223-246 (1941), which see also for the treatment of the phonemes /j, w, h/. Phonetic symbols needing explanation are: [ʔ] non-released stop; [t̟] apical secondary articulation; [ɾ] flapped articulation; [p̥], etc., voiceless lenis.

4. When the consonant sound-types of my English (northern New Jersey) have been examined and grouped into the phonemes /p, k, b, d, g, f, θ, s, ʃ, v, ð, z, ʒ, m, n, ŋ, l, r, j, w, h/, there still remain the sound-types [t̟] in *tip*, [t̟ʔ] in *hit*, [t̟] in *bitter*, [ʔ] in *prattle*, [ʔ̟] in *mountain*, [p̥] in *stick*, and the flap-effect of the *n* ([n̟]) in *sprinting*.

Let us state in detail the distribution of these sound-types:

[t̟] is found initially before vowels, and internally before strong-stressed (see Trager-Bloch, §5, end, p. 229) vowels: *tip*, *tomato*, *attempt*. Also, optionally depending on speed and emphasis (a so-called 'free variation'), in absolute final before pause, instead of [t̟ʔ].

[t̟ʔ] occurs in final position before pause: *hit*, *hint*; but may be replaced by [t̟] under certain conditions.

[ʔ̟] (with apicalization) occurs after strong-stressed syllables before syllabic [ŋ] (phonemically /əŋ/), if preceded by /n/: *mountain*, *Clinton*.

[ʔ] (with little or no apicalization) is found after strong-stressed vowels before [ɪ, ʊ]: *prattle*, *button*.

[t̟] occurs after strong-stressed vowels before weak-stressed vowels, including the syllabic sounds [ɪ, ɐ] (= /əɪ, ər/).

[p̥] is found after /s/, before a vowel: *stop*.

[n̟] is found between vowels, after strong stress, and is in contrast with [n], compare *sprinting* : *spinning*.

5. How many phonemes are involved here? Let us examine the situation in terms of our definition.

The sound-type [n̟] is in contrast with all other sound-types occurring in the one position in which it is found; it is therefore not simply a member of the /n/ phoneme; but when we examine the phonetics of the /n/ phoneme in such cases as *sprint*, *rinse*, *rinseing*, we see that the /n/ is represented by a very short nasal consonant; in [n̟] the nasal element is of the same order of shortness. In view of this, and of the limitation of [n̟] to one position, we can safely decide that [n̟] is phonemically /n/ plus some other phoneme; this latter, represented by the flap effect, will be considered shortly.

On the basis of complementary distribution, the sound-types [t̟], [t̟ʔ], [p̥] are certainly allophones of the same phoneme; they are also phonet-

ically similar, and they pattern congruently with the similarly distributed varieties of /p/ and /k/.

The sound-type [t] is in complementary distribution with the flap effect of [n¹], and the two of them are phonetically similar, [t] being often so short as to be a flap, almost [ɾ]. They are then phonemically the same, and since they are both in complementary distribution with the phoneme already set up from [t¹], [t²], [ɒ], all five sound-types belong to one phoneme. We shall call this the phoneme /t/. These five allophones can only belong together, since they are wholly or partly in contrast with all other sound-types of the language.

There remain the sound-types [ɾ] and [ʔ]. The first of these is in complementary distribution with all the other allophones of /t/, and is phonetically similar to them, as it is a stop, is voiceless, and has the alveolar articulation at least as secondary. So it too belongs to /t/. [ʔ], however, is apparently in contrast with [t] in the position before [ɪ], though elsewhere it is complementary with all the allophones of /t/, and is phonetically so similar to [ɾ] as to offer no difficulty on that score.

We must look into the cases with [ʔ] and [t] before [ɪ]. I pronounce [t] in *little*, *spittle*, *settle*, *rattle*, *bottle*, *cuttlefish*, *scuttle*, and *footle*. But I have [ʔ] in *prattle*, *glottal*. In words with the so-called 'long vowels and diphthongs,' such as *beetle*, *fatal*, *total*, *tootle*, I have 'free' variation between [ʔ] and [t], the latter being more usual in informal and non-emphatic speech. It appears then that after 'long vowels and diphthongs' there is no contrast between [t] and [ʔ]; after short vowels the only contrast seems to be in the pairs *rattle* : *prattle*, *bottle* : *glottal*. Now, the examples with [t] all have a single consonant or a cluster of /s/ plus consonant preceding the vowel before [t]; while those with [ʔ] begin with a consonant cluster (other than /sC/). It thus becomes clear that [t] and [ʔ] are not in contrast even here, for they are complementarily distributed in respect to preceding /CV/ or /sCV/ on the one hand and /KCV/ (where /K/ is a consonant other than /s/) on the other. Accordingly, [ʔ] is an allophone of the /t/ phoneme.

The statements about the distribution of [t] and [ʔ] must now be corrected as follows:

[t] occurs after strong-stressed short vowels before weak-stressed vowels, including the syllabic sounds [ɪ, ɐ] (= /əɪ, ɐr/); but before [ɪ] it is found in this situation only if the strong-stressed vowel is preceded by one consonant or by a cluster of /s/ plus consonant; after 'long vowels and diphthongs' [t] occurs before [ɪ], but in free variation with [ʔ].

[ʔ] occurs after strong-stressed short vowels before [ɪ], and before [ɪ] if

PRONUNCIATION IN DOWNSTATE NEW YORK (II)

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III. DIPHTHONGS

THE DIPHTHONG [aɪ] varies chiefly in the direction of [aɪ], and may shift as far as [ɔɪ]. There are other shades, but they are of doubtful importance. Except in [aɪ] for *I'll*, the second element is stable. There is virtually no centralizing. Table xv indicates the distribution of the main types:

TABLE XV

Word	[aɪ]	[aɪ]
behind	19	1
beside	18	3
bright	29	1
defy	30	1
delight	14	1
deny	21	4
dried	13	0
find	6	14
fire	56	2
high	16	3
light	57	3
mind	21	18
quiet	67	3
time	5	14
white	23	1
wise	4	11

The diphthong [aʊ] is highly unstable, generally tending toward a front placement which links it much more definitely with the South than with upstate speech.³⁰ There is, however, no such centralization before voiceless consonants as in Virginia. See Table xvi.

The diphthong [ɔɪ] is somewhat more stable than [aɪ] or [aʊ]. Occasionally it shifts toward [ɔɪ] or [ɜɪ], but the trend toward [aɪ] mentioned by Babbitt³¹ is no longer noticeable. *Choice* has [ɔɪ] 14, [ɜɪ] 2; *hoist* [ɔɪ] 72, [aɪ] 3, [ɔɪ] 1, [ɜɪ] 1; *noise* [ɔɪ] 71, [ɔɪ] 2, [ɜɪ] 1; *pointed* [ɔɪ] 10, [ɔɪ] 1; *voice* [ɔɪ] 24, [ɜɪ] 2.³²

30. *American Speech*, 11: 308-309.

31. See *Dialect Notes*, 1: 462.

32. See, however, the fuller treatment in A. F. Hubbell, '“Curl” and “Coil” in New York City,' *American Speech*, 15: 374-376.

TABLE XVI

Word	[æu]	[au]	[au]
about	11	18	15
allow	6	5	7
around	10	11	7
astounded	7	9	1
blouse	5	20	11
bound	14	10	2
cloud	2	6	7
count	4	8	4
counters	41	79	33
cow	5	5	3
crowd	15	45	25
doubt	3	9	4
down	43	70	19
found	37	54	29
frown	3	4	3
ground	22	11	7
hour	9	3	4
house	45	50	35
how	6	5	5
loud	5	5	8
mount	4	5	3
now	23	38	8
out	22	22	9
outside	6	4	3
pound	6	2	2
power	7	2	3
pronounce	5	3	3
round	16	7	5
scout	19	12	5
sound	22	51	26
south	19	73	27
surround	8	10	4
towel	7	3	1
trousers	13	25	20
without	10	20	28

IV. CENTRAL VOWELS AND [r]

Since the vowels [ɜ] and [ɜ] and the diphthong [ɜɪ] have been thoroughly discussed in a recent issue of this magazine,³³ I confine myself to a summary of the three types, without attempting narrower transcription:

TABLE XVII

Word	[ɜ]	[ɜ]	[ɜɪ]
absurd	117	70	15
asserted	6	5	4
bird	6	8	6
burn	44	38	15
certain	4	3	10

33. See A. F. Hubbell in *American Speech*, 15: 372-374; see also *Dialect Notes*, 1: 462-463.

TABLE XVII (Continued)

Word	[ɜ]	[ɜ]	[ɜɪ]
church	2	3	7
curse	9	1	2
deserted	25	8	2
discern	13	4	4
earnest	13	4	1
first	57	12	20
heard	3	3	7
learn	3	3	6
merchandise	5	2	4
percolator	90	48	14
return	27	15	10
shirk	4	3	4
superb	33	11	3
turn	3	4	7
universe	10	2	3
urge	8	3	4
word	9	4	6
work	58	13	25
world	7	2	3
worth	5	1	5

When a vowel follows *r* in the same word, there is no loss of [r]-coloring, but sometimes the older [ʌr] survives as a variant of [ɜr]. *Courage* has [ɜr] 21, [ʌr] 3; *current* [ɜr] 14, [ʌr] 4; *hurry* [ɜr] 33, [ʌr] 253; *turret* [ɜr] 31, [ʌr] 12, and also [ʊr] 7. Upstate speech occasionally has [ʌr] in *hurry*, but never in the other words of this class.³⁴ Though [ʌr] is common in various parts of the Atlantic coast, the use of [ɜɪ] in the other category links downstate speech with the South, rather than with New England. In unstressed syllables, the variation is between [ə]³⁵ and [ə], as illustrated below:

TABLE XVIII

Word	[ə]	[ə]
after	98	121
afternoon	32	56
answer	16	17
answered	22	11
barrier	8	6
butcher	5	7
calendar	97	83
counters	88	65
daughter	34	50
either	22	15
figure	8	7
govern	4	6
government	33	31
humor	11	6
laughter	8	6
master	10	11

34. See *American Speech*, 10: 208-209.

35. Here used to indicate the unstressed syllabic 'r-colored' vowel, and to differentiate that vowel from the non-syllabic consonantal [r] itself.

TABLE XVIII (Continued)

Word	[ɹ]	[ə]
measure	15	7
modern	9	2
neither	7	4
offer	7	4
orator	70	74
pasture	6	4
persist	111	89
persistent	6	9
picture book	20	25
picture of	63	38
power	8	2
rather	77	90
remember	19	14
saucer	27	37
trousers	21	27
wander	26	17
water	127	153
whether	30	16
whisper	5	6

In addition, *govern* and *modern* each show two instances of syllabic [n] in place of either [ɹn] or [ən]. *Persist* shows 5 instances of metathesized [pri-]; *persistent*, one instance. Loss of consonantal [r] involves the additional variant of omission, as shown in the following table:

TABLE XIX

Word	[r]	[ə]	Omission
absorb	29	0	7
barn	55	1	49
before	21	4	18
board	34	6	21
car	10	0	17
careful	24	7	3
careless	16	5	3
cheerful	13	24	0
clear	42	27	0
coarse	41	4	22
course	63	9	50
court	50	1	22
dark	14	0	7
despair	11	10	0
door	41	48	15
everywhere	10	13	0
farm	11	0	15
fire	25	33	0
floor	70	13	35
force	16	0	15
four	5	3	2
fourteen	24	0	14
garden	9	0	10
hardly	7	0	6
harvest	10	0	5
heart	4	0	6

TABLE XIX (Continued)

Word	[r]	[ɹ]	Omission
hoarse	15	1	10
horses	69	0	74
hour	10	6	0
large	28	0	30
march	12	0	21
mature	7	5	0
more	21	3	10
morning	13	0	14
mourn	13	0	6
porch	92	26	55
poured	46	2	28
regard	7	0	8
remark	20	0	4
roar	63	1	15
sharp	10	0	29
somewhere	15	4	0
started	82	0	67
store	90	97	38
where	9	2	0

In addition, *comfortable* has [kʌmfətəbl] 1, [kʌmfətəbl] 1, [kʌmftəbl] 10, [kʌmftəbl] 18. Between vowels, *forehead* has [rh] 18, [r] 34, [h] 3. Like *comfortable*, the noun *worsted* occasionally has a metathesized form, [wʊstəd]. When two or more *r*'s occur in separate syllables of the same word, the dissimilative tendency, added to the dialectal tendency to weaken and omit various kinds of [r]-coloring, produces a wide variety of forms. Table xx shows the combination of dialectal and dissimilative loss of *r*, without attempting to differentiate the special shades represented by [r], [ɹ], or [ɹ̥]:

TABLE XX

Word	Both <i>r</i> 's pronounced	First <i>r</i> omitted	Second <i>r</i> omitted	Both <i>r</i> 's omitted
farmer	12	0	3	19
February	19	10	0	0
forlorn	7	3	1	3
former	4	1	1	7
forty-four	41	1	7	30
governor	8	34	0	52
library	37	6	0	0
northern	6	0	3	2
particular	25	24	1	31
percolator	85	2	5	60
perform	7	10	0	6
temperature	7	13	1	6
thermometer	26	46	11	63

In addition, *surprise* shows [səp] 6, [səp] 79, [sp] 3. Comparison with upstate speech³⁶ shows a considerably greater loss in downstate speech.

36. See *American Speech*, 11: 313.

Inconsistency in the dropping of *r* is paralleled by an inconsistent tendency to insert *r* in places where there is no historical justification. Thus, *familiar* shows [fə'mɪljə] 19, [fə'mɪljə] 21, [fə'mɪljə] 2, [fə'mɪljə] 3, the last possibly a metathesized form. In such words as *Asia*, *banana*, and *idea*, final [ə] frequently changes to [ɜ]; in such words as *law* and *saw*, an intrusive [r] is common. None of these intrusive [r]-colorings seem to depend on the presence of an initial vowel in the following word; they are quite as likely to occur before consonants or at the ends of phrases.

V. CONSONANTS

The most frequent consonantal interchanges are those between voiceless consonants and their voiced counterparts. Table XXI shows the variation between the voiceless [m] and the voiced [w]:

TABLE XXI

Word	[m]	[w]
everywhere	9	14
meanwhile	4	39
somewhere	1	18
whale	25	89
what	23	24
wheat	4	7
wheelbarrow	46	52
when	16	30
where	6	5
whether	19	27
which	9	12
while	104	112
whisper	2	9
whistle	15	63
white	113	159

Previous studies have indicated that the substitution of [w] for [m] in upstate speech is most common in the southern and eastern parts, nearest to New York City. Comparison shows that the substitution is even more common in the downstate area than in any of the upstate areas.³⁷ Another frequent variation in the voicing is that between [s] and [z]. In Table XXII the figures indicate the phonetic value of the *z* in *citizen*, the first *s*'s in *disaster*, *persist*, and *persistent*, and the single *s*'s of the other words:

TABLE XXII

Word	[s]	[z]
absorb	44	54
absurd	122	80
because	18	64

37. *Ibid.*, 12: 122-123.

TABLE XXII (Continued)

Word	[s]	[z]
blouse	29	7
cease	41	2
citizen	8	17
crimson	2	25
desolate	155	22
disaster	12	6
discern	14	7
grease (verb)	21	9
greasy	212	130
merchandise	7	4
persist	173	32
persistent	13	3
transit	13	1
transition	2	11
translate	32	3
vase	48	47

This shows, on the whole, a stronger preference for [z] than in upstate speech.³⁸ In addition, the final syllable of *transition* shows [ʃ] 12, [ʒ] 1. *Luxury* shows [kʃ] 8, [gʒ] 5. *Baths* shows [ðz] 14, [θs] 2; *moths* [ðz] 24, [θs] 40; *paths* [ðz] 38, [θs] 14. *With* and its compounds show a considerable variation between [ð] and [θ], depending on the nature of the following sound. In Table XXIII, all forms are in unstressed positions:

TABLE XXIII

Word	[ð]	[θ]
with <i>before</i> pause	10	3
vowel	94	38
[b]	34	22
[m]	30	12
[ʌ]	14	5
[w]	57	23
[f]	47	23
[v]	8	2
[θ]	62	4
[ð]	95	76
[t]	12	5
[tʃ]	8	4
[d]	7	4
[n]	17	12
[l]	58	14
[s]	31	42
[z]	7	56
[ʃ]	53	8
[j]	44	29
[r]	7	4
[k]	24	9
[g]	7	7
[h]	12	11
withdraw	18	8
within	12	1
without	38	10

38. *Ibid.*, 12: 123-124.

Since [wɪθ] predominates only before [s] and [z], no conclusions can be drawn as to the assimilative or dissimilative effect of following voiced or voiceless consonants. *With* occurs only rarely in stressed positions, and I can draw no conclusions as to the effect of stress, since my records show only [wɪð] 9, [wɪθ] 10, when stressed before a vowel.

Other variations between voiced and voiceless consonants are of minor importance. *Second*, before [w], has [nd] 20, [nt] 14, [n] 26; before [r], [nd] 11, [nt] 2, [n] 2. *Breadth* has [dθ] 22, [tθ] 7. *Midst* has [dst] 26, [tst] 4. The *p* of *superb* represents [p] 43, [b] 4. *Ostrich* has final [tʃ] 75, [dʒ] 5; *spinach* [tʃ] 33, [dʒ] 1. The final syllable of *significant* has [k] 14, [g] 15, [s] 1. Omission of initial [h] before [ju] produces a variation that has some similarity to the voiced-voiceless categories already explained:

TABLE XXIV

Word	[hj]	[j]
huge	194	23
human	45	8
humanity	17	4
humor	10	7
humorous	27	5

This is a somewhat greater loss of [h] than in upstate speech.³⁹ Other consonantal losses include *asked* [skt] 57, [st] 75, [sk] 4; *exactly* [kt] 4, [k] 44; *kept* [pt] 12, [p] 8; *swept* [pt] 21, [p] 2; *picture* [kt] 144, [t] 4. *Candidate* retains the first [d] 55 times, loses it once. *Probably* shows [prabəblɪ] 23, [prabəlɪ] 3, [prablɪ] 4. *Government* retains the first [n] 24 times, loses it 40 times, presumably by dissimilation. *Suggest* shows [səg'dʒest] 27, [sə'dʒest] 5. *Distinguish* has [ŋg] 24, [ŋ] 5; *England* [ŋg] 35, [ŋ] 14; *English* [ŋg] 36, [ŋ] 13. *Length* has [ŋ] 42, [ŋk] 2, [n] 6; *strength* [ŋ] 24, [ŋk] 2, [n] 5. The addition of [g] or [k] to [ŋ] in other words is rare, except in foreign speech. Downstate dialect occasionally adds a superfluous [t] to such words as *across*, *attack*, *cliff*, and *once*; it occasionally restores the [t] to *often*. *Height* is normally [haɪt], without the superfluous final [θ]. The glottal stop often replaces [t] before syllabic [n] or [l], as in *beaten* and *beetle*; or the [t] in such positions may acquire voice. Less commonly the glottal stop may replace final [t]. In *absurd* the records show final [d] 188, [b] 14; in *tremendous*, [d] 28, [dʒ] 4; in *chimney*, [n] 101, [l] 2; in *recognize*, [gn] 61, [kn] 3, [dn] 2, [n] 18.

VI. CONCLUSIONS

The boundaries of downstate dialect are not the same for all classes

39. *Ibid.*, 12: 122.

of words. The loss of [r]-coloring, for instance, hardly extends north of New York City into Westchester and Rockland; in those border-line counties *r* is predominantly pronounced in the upstate manner. On the other hand, such downstate pronunciations as [fəɾəst] and [hɑɾɪ] predominate in the Hudson valley almost half way to Albany. The boundaries of other differentiating features fall somewhere in between these extremes. In every instance, however, the boundary extends across the Hudson; the traditional boundary line running up and down the Hudson has no validity today, if it ever had, for the Hudson has always been an avenue, not a barrier. Nor is the traditional division of American speech into Eastern, Southern, and General types satisfactory, for downstate speech, while it agrees closely with none of the three, is perhaps most like the Southern type, which is geographically the most remote. In population, if not in territorial extent, downstate New York speech seems worthy of recognition as a fourth main type, especially when we realize that it includes not only the nine counties of this article, but parts of southwestern Connecticut and northern New Jersey as well.

Special dialectal interest attaches to Suffolk County because of its retention of older, rural forms which have died out of the metropolitan area. This special character may not survive, because the extension of automobile parkways on Long Island, and the gradual electrification of the Long Island Railroad, threaten to suburbanize a good share of the county.

Many of the details in this survey need further testing. The spread of downstate speech into Connecticut and New Jersey needs investigation. A large amount of data bearing on the statewide variations in the pronunciation of unstressed vowels in such prefixes as *be-*, *de-*, and *re-*, and such final syllables as *-ed*, *-es*, and *-et* is now ready for analysis; it will form, I hope, the subject matter for a later article on the speech of New York State.

'PUT 'ER IN GRANDMAW'

The trade magazine *KVP* (Kalamazoo Vegetable Parchment) *Philosopher*, issue of December, 1941, p. 4, states that "The extra low gear on trucks used by the USA Army are called "Grandmaw" by the soldiers. An Illinois soldier

whose truck was mired during the Louisiana maneuvers described the experience thus: "So I told everybody to step out of the way so they wouldn't get all muddled up, and then I put 'er in Grandmaw and we walked right outta there just like nothin'."

NORWEGIAN-AMERICAN SURNAMES IN TRANSITION

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ALTHOUGH surnames are only a small part of an immigrant's language, they are, by virtue of their conservative and tenacious quality, a particularly good index to his adjustment to American life.¹ Long after the descendant of the immigrant has lost all other vestiges of his foreign tongue and seems adjusted to American ways, he may retain a foreign pronunciation of his surname, thus symbolizing the extent to which he, or the society in which he lives, accepts or rejects American manners and thought.

A study of the Norwegian-American surnames in Deerfield, Wisconsin, shows this intimate relation of pronunciations to the immigrant's conflict between two worlds. Deerfield, part of Koshkonong, one of the first Norwegian settlements in America, lies along a relatively untraveled road between two highways—one connecting Madison with Milwaukee and Chicago, and the other, a less important highway, connecting Madison with Milwaukee.

The first Norwegian settlers in Deerfield, emigrants from Voss, Norway, came about 1840. Because they were all of the same dialect, they built up a very solidly unified Norwegian settlement and seldom mingled with the English in that neighborhood, who lived several miles north of the Norwegians along what was then a stagecoach route between Milwaukee and Madison. When the railroad was built nearer the Norwegian settlement, most of the English sold their land to German immigrants and moved away. The Germans then helped to build the present village of Deerfield. There has never been any real union, however, between the Germans and the Norwegians. Even today most of the Norwegians live south of the Koshkonong Creek, most of the Germans north. At present, of the approximately 500 inhabitants in the village, about eighty per cent are of Norwegian, twenty per cent of German, and a very few of English descent. No longer are all the Norwegians of the same dialect; only about half are descendants of the original Vossings. A goodly number are descendants of emigrants from Numedal, Telemark, and Sogn; a few are descendants of

1. For discussions of language as an index to immigrant adjustment, see 'Language and Immigration' by Einar Haugen in *Norwegian-American Studies and Records*, 10 (1936): 1-43; and the excellent chapter 'Language and Immigrant Transition' in Theodore C. Blegen, *Norwegian Migration to America, II The American Transition* (Northfield, Minn., 1940).

people from other dialect sections of Norway. Nevertheless, a strong Norwegian unity persists.

Today all the inhabitants of Deerfield speak English. Most of the old people also speak Norwegian; most of the young people below thirty can speak only English, although many of them can understand some Norwegian. But whether or not they speak or understand Norwegian, they all, at times, show traces of Norwegian influence in their intonations and particularly in their pronunciation of surnames.

For the purpose of this study, forty-five villagers were interviewed, among whom were the minister, the president of the village, a banker, several store-keepers, a shoemaker, a barber, the owner of the feed mill, garage men, a tavern keeper, a restaurant owner, an undertaker, the postmaster, high-school students, college students, teachers, housewives, farmers, and retired farmers and business men. Three informants were of German and one of English descent. Some had always lived in Deerfield, others only in recent years. Some lived in the village; others either lived in the immediately surrounding country or had recently moved into the village from the country. The ages of the informants ranged from sixteen to ninety. Such a heterogeneous group seemed to be sufficiently representative to indicate the tendencies of the community as a whole. Each informant was requested to read a list of the names of the villagers and was questioned as to his own ancestry, education, social connections, and the like.

For almost every name the community has two or more pronunciations, which may range from the old dialect pronunciation with its Norwegian intonation to a completely American pronunciation. Not only do different people, even within the same family, have different pronunciations, but one person may have different pronunciations for the same name, depending on the person he is talking to or on the particular circumstances under which he is talking. Moreover, this shifting from one layer of pronunciation to another is not consistent. And a person who neither speaks nor understands Norwegian may show just as much Norwegian influence in his pronunciations as his Norwegian-speaking neighbor. The pronunciations of each person have been influenced by many crisscrossing social factors too complicated to isolate for study. But during the course of the investigation several factors became clear and at least pointed to a relationship between social behavior and pronunciation for the group as a whole.

Age, the most obvious factor, is the most nearly consistent in its influence. In general the old people tend toward Norwegian pronunciations, the younger people toward American pronunciations, though with no true consistency. One young college student, for example, has a strange

mixture of Norwegian and American pronunciations. As he read the list of names, he became aware of his inconsistencies and smiled self-consciously when he heard himself say: Hagen [hɑ:gən], Halvorson [hælvəsən], Hanson [hænsən], Hatleback [hatləbək]. He quickly explained that before attending high school, he had lived in the country, had worked on farms, and had heard the farmers use dialect pronunciations. He had worked for Hagen and had always called him [hɑ:gən], but when he went to high school in town, he called the children [he:gən]. Age, then, is not the only factor. It makes a difference whether one lives in the country or in the village. The village stands for higher social rank and more American pronunciations.

The parents of this youth brought to light still another factor. As the father started reading the names, he gave many dialect pronunciations like those of his son, but was soon interrupted by his wife, who reminded him that that was not the way the townspeople said the names. She seemed ashamed every time he used a particularly striking dialect pronunciation, and was obviously more concerned than her husband with social conformity and social prestige. A very definite cleavage also exists between the members of the Woman's Club, who try to speak 'nice' English, and the women who belong only to the church organizations, such as the Ladies' Aid—a cleavage manifesting itself in pronunciations, in vocabulary, in tone of voice.

School has been an Americanizing influence. At school the pronunciations of the children, segregated from parents who may speak Norwegian, tend to become Americanized very quickly, especially when a teacher not of Norwegian descent refuses to pronounce the names in a Norwegian manner even though at times the children correct her.

The church may be either an Americanizing or a Norwegianizing factor according to whether a person belongs to the village church or to the country church—the latter being one of the three original Koshkonong churches, established on the model of the state church in Norway with essentially the same doctrines and the same ritual. The village church was founded when there was a split within the Norwegian Lutheran churches throughout the country on a point of doctrine. Today many people no longer remember what the point of doctrine was, but they have not forgotten the bitterness of the dispute. The country church, where Norwegian services are still held once a month, symbolizes the old Norwegian culture. The members of the church, mostly the older generation who still cling to Norwegian, resent the fact that the same minister must now serve both churches. They feel that he has a greater interest in the

more American town church and does not want to preach for them in Norwegian.

The Norwegian language thrives also in the taverns, the post office, and the general store, where the old retired farmers and shopkeepers assemble to gossip. The most popular tavern is owned by a man who came to America about thirty years ago from a section in Norway (Flekkefjord) whose dialect, unfamiliar to the other villagers, amuses them by the strangeness of its sound. The man himself, a comical character, likes to tell his customers a good story. The old men in the village enjoy a kind of secret society with him, swapping stories and jokes in Norwegian. At the post office every morning after the mail arrives, most of the townspeople hurry in and out, but the old men stay awhile to read the *Decorah-Posten* and talk about the news in Norwegian or to exchange the latest bits of local gossip. At the general store, where the old people have traded for years, the owner spends much of his time talking leisurely to his customers in Norwegian. His wife, a lively, busy little woman, has a quick, witty Norwegian remark for everyone. The daughter has had to learn enough Norwegian to wait on the old customers.

This old country store is very different from the thriving grocery store owned by a tactful business man who has recently emigrated from Oslo and who speaks the standard Norwegian of the cities to his Norwegian-speaking customers. This grocer, the tavern keeper, and a few other newcomers from Norway are a fresh influence toward Norwegian pronunciations. The old men like to lapse into their dialects when they speak to the tavern keeper; the more socially conscious people who still want to preserve Norwegian for cultural reasons try to speak 'proper' Norwegian to the grocer. It is important to keep in mind these two kinds of Norwegian—the dialects used in ordinary daily life in rural Norway and the formal official city language (Dano-Norwegian) of the government, the church, and the schools; for the names of the immigrants have been affected by both. Except for the patronymics (the *-son* names), all the present surnames were Norwegian farm names officially registered in Norway in Dano-Norwegian.² These names also had colloquial dialect forms often quite different from the official forms. For instance, one of the Deerfield names was Finby [finby] in Dano-Norwegian, Finnebø [fin:əbø] in dialect. In Norway a person had little occasion to pronounce

2. Most of the early Norwegian immigrants had no established family names until after they had settled in America. For full discussion of how the immigrants acquired their present family names, see 'Norwegian-American Surnames' by Marjorie M. Kimberle in *Norwegian-American Studies and Records*, 12 (1941): 1 ff.

his official farm name or to write the colloquial form. In America, however, when such farm names suddenly assumed added importance by becoming established as official family names, the immigrants tended to use more and more frequently not only the official Dano-Norwegian spelling but also a bookish, formal Dano-Norwegian spelling-pronunciation. Usually only in intimate colloquial speech did they continue the dialect pronunciations of the names. Dano-Norwegian has had, therefore, more direct influence than the dialects upon the present spelling and pronunciations of the names.

Complicated as the study of the social and linguistic factors proved to be, the conflict between the Norwegian and the American was always evident. It seemed feasible, then, at least to determine the general tendencies of the pronunciations. The results of the investigation follow.

VOWELS

1. Norwegian long *a* [ɑ:] in accented syllables tends to become Americanized to [e:], although [ɑ:] persists. Brager, a newcomer to the village, is called [bre:gə] by 84% of the informants. Hagen, an old settler who lives in the country, calls himself [hɑ:gən]; his children go by [he:gən]. In the name *Fladen* the conservative Norwegian influence is still strongly felt. The family insist on [fle:dən], but the villagers resent this, think them pretentious, and persist in calling them [flɑ:dən]. This pronunciation was used by 84% of the informants. In Dahl and Dahle, [ɑ:] is retained, probably because of the *h* and by analogy to *ah*, *bah*, *hah*.

2. Norwegian short *a* [a] in accented syllables persists in all but two names, *Gangstad* and *Hanson*, which have [æ]. The form [gænstəd] may be accounted for by analogy to *gang*, *hang*, etc. *Hanson* was probably Americanized very early, together with most of the other patronymics like *Anderson*, and has long been felt as an American name. By analogy we should also expect *Halvorson* [hælvəsən]; but 86% of the informants said [həlvəsən]. *Wang* (N. *Vang*), pronounced [wən] by 64% of the informants, would probably not seem any more American with [æ]. In *Lande*, the final *e* probably helps to preserve the foreign pronunciation, 84% saying [landɪ]. The *Hatleback* (N. *Hatlebakken*) family are fairly recent newcomers from Norway. That may explain why 80% of the informants said [hətləbək] despite the American spelling and the fact that at school the teachers insist on [hætəlbæk]. The names *Fadnes* and *Dalby* retain [ɑ]; only 8% said [fædnəs] and [dælbi].

3. Norwegian short *a* [a] in unaccented syllables is fairly well preserved in *-land* names such as *Bergland* and *Grotland*, but not in *-stad* names such as *Donstad* and *Helgestad*. About 62% of the informants said [-lan],

the rest said [-lənd], or, because of undue emphasis of the name, [-lænd]. About 54% said [-stəd], 25% [-stɛd], 20% [-stɑd], and 1% [-stæd]. The pronunciations [-stəd] and [-stɛd] have probably been influenced by American names ending in *-stead*.

4. Norwegian long *aa* [ɔ:] in accented syllables tends to be preserved only if the Norwegian spelling is kept. Of all the informants, 89% said *Braaten* [brɔ:tən] and *Haakonson* [hɔ:kənsən]; 75% said *Skaar* [skɔ:r]. The rest said [brɑ:tən], [hɑ:kənsən], and [skɑ:r] respectively. Norwegian *Raaum* has been respelled *Roum* and was pronounced [ro:m] by 78%, the others retaining [rɔ:m].

5. Norwegian short *aa*, *o* [ɔ] in accented syllables is retained or approximated. *Torke* [tɔrkɪ] we should not expect to be otherwise, but it is surprising to find 90% of the pronunciations to be [ɔ] in *Brodland* (N. *Braadland*); 20% [ɔ] and 58% [ʌ] (an approximation of [ɔ]) in *Drotning*; and 27% [ɔ] and 68% [ʌ] in *Odden*.

6. Norwegian long *e* [e:] in accented syllables is preserved in *Bredeson*, but changed to [i:] in *Levorson*. Unfortunately there are no other names with long *e* in accented syllables to show any particular tendencies.

7. Norwegian long *æ* [ɛ:, æ:] in accented syllables is shortened to [ɛ]. In *Legreid* (N. *Læg Reid*) and in *Neperud* (N. *Næperud*), 95% of the pronunciations were [ɛ]. In *Herreid* only 59% were [ɛ]; 41% were [æ] (*r* probably helps to preserve a more open sound).

8. Norwegian short *e* or *æ* [ɛ, æ] in accented syllables is retained as [ɛ] except before *r*, where we have the American spelling-pronunciation [æ]. In names like *Berge* and *Sperlie* (N. *Sperle*) about 15% of the pronunciations were [æ]. All Norwegian *æ* spellings are now *e*.

9. Norwegian final *e* [ɐ] becomes [ɪ]. Only about 11% of the pronunciations retained [ɐ]. In *Jerdee*, *Rothie*, and *Sperlie* (N. *Gjærde*, *Røthe*, and *Sperle* respectively), the American spelling of the last syllable indicates the tendency, and in these names the [ɪ] pronunciations were nearly 100%.

10. Norwegian *ei* [ei, ai] in accented syllables is predominantly [ai] except in the name *Legreid*, where the last syllable is no longer accented and *ei* is pronounced [ɪ]. We should expect to find *Herreid* behaving similarly, but 82% of the pronunciations of *Herreid* were [ai], only 4% [ɪ]. Since *ei* was originally pronounced [ai] by the Vossings, the dominant dialect group in Deerfield, it is not surprising to find [ai] the dominant pronunciation. This pronunciation may possibly have been influenced also by German. Most Americans, even with only a slight acquaintance with German, pronounce *ei* as [ai]. Only about 10% of the pronuncia-

tions were [ei]. The American spelling *Sime* (N. *Seim*) has established the [ai] pronunciation for this name.

11. Norwegian long *i* [i:] in accented syllables now has the American spelling-pronunciation [ai]. About 86% of the pronunciations of both *Iverson* and *Simonson* were [ai].

12. Norwegian long *o*, *oe* [o:] in accented syllables is retained except before *r* in closed syllables (*Jordalen*, *Thorstad*), where it becomes [ɔ], and in the name *Donstad*, in which 60% of the pronunciations were the American spelling-pronunciation [a]. The names *Hoel*, *Tholo*, and *Solberg* were always pronounced with [o:].

13. Norwegian long *u* [u:] in accented syllables is retained except in *Julseth*, where 57% of the pronunciations were [u]. There is a slight tendency toward [ʊ] in names ending in *-hus* and *-rud*, such as *Gilderhus* and *Borgerud*. In *Nesthus*, 29% of the pronunciations were [ɔ].

14. Norwegian short *u* [u] in accented syllables tends toward [ʌ]. In *Rutlin*, 25% of the pronunciations were [u], 59% [ʊ], and 16% [ʌ]. In *Gunderson*, 27% were [u], 73% [ʌ]. In *Munson*, 9% were [u] and 91% [ʌ].

15. Norwegian long *y* [y:] in accented syllables is unrounded to [i:]. Unfortunately *Gyland* is the only Deerfield name with long *y*. Only one person said [gailənd].

16. Norwegian long *ø* [ø:] in accented syllables is always respelled and then receives an American spelling-pronunciation, except in the name *Sorum*, spelled by one family *Serum* (N. *Sjørum*), in which 20% of the pronunciations retained [ø:] and 54% had [ɜ] (a close American approximation to [ør]). The spelling *Serum* probably accounts for the latter pronunciation. But the same number of people retain this pronunciation for the spelling *Sorum*, where we should expect [ɔ], a sound which we do find in *Sorlie* (N. *Sørli*). The names *Rothie* (N. *Røthe*) and *Soberg* (N. *Sjøberg*) are pronounced with [o:].

17. Norwegian short *ø* [ø] in accented syllables is always respelled and then tends to receive an American spelling pronunciation, although the pronunciation [ø] or an approximation of it persists. The American spelling *Burthe* (N. *Børthe*) preserves the sound [ɜ] (an approximation of [ør]). The name *Borgerud* (N. *Børgerud*) is pronounced [bɔrgərud]; but only 32% of the pronunciations of *Bjornstad* (N. *Bjørnstad*) were [ɔ], possibly because the foreign combination *bj* serves to remind people of the foreign pronunciation of the whole name. It is surprising to find the sound [a] in only 67% of the pronunciations of *Notsether* (N. *Nøtsæther*), in only 50% of those of *Rodby* (N. *Rødby*), and in only 18% of those of *Osterlie* (N. *Østerli*).

CONSONANTS

1. Norwegian *bj* [bj] persists. *Bjornstad* (N. *Bjørnstad*) is unfortunately the only Deerfield name for illustration. Two people said [dʒ]; two said [bdʒ].

2. Norwegian silent *d* now tends to be pronounced. Here the American pronunciation coincides with the formal Dano-Norwegian, in which *d* might be pronounced. In the *-land* names such as *Bergland*, about 35% of the informants did not pronounce *d*; in the *-stad* names such as *Donstad*, about 12%; in the *-rud* names such as *Stensrud*, about 7%. Medially *d* was pronounced in *Gunderson* by 91% of the informants, in *Jerdee* (N. *Gjærde*) by all of them.

3. Norwegian *gj*, *j*, *g* [j] initially is now usually written *j* and was pronounced [dʒ] by about 84% of the informants. Medially in *Borgerud* (N. *Børgerud*) and *Helgestad* it was pronounced [g], as it might have been in Dano-Norwegian. But in *Berge* it was pronounced [dʒ] by 77%.

4. Norwegian *ng* [ŋ] was pronounced [ŋg] in the two names *Engelstad* and *Enger* by 68% and 86% of the informants respectively.

5. Norwegian *th* [t] was retained in five names: *Thorstad*, 52%; *Julseth*, 82%; *Norsether* (N. *Nordsætheren*), 93%; *Midthun*, 96%; *Nesthus*, 98%. But it was [θ] in four names: *Thorson*, 58%; *Tholo*, 73%; *Burthe* (N. *Børthe*), 75%; *Rothie* (N. *Røthe*), 75%.

6. Norwegian *v* [v] is spelled *w* initially—as in *Wedvick* (N. *Vedvik*), for instance—and tends to be pronounced [w], although about 36% of the informants said [v] in spite of the spelling.

The results of the investigation show unmistakably that in Deerfield, Norwegian-American surnames are still in the active process of transition and reflect the immigrant conflict between the old and the new, between Norwegian and American. The fact that the Norwegian language is still spoken by the old people of the village undoubtedly retards Americanization and helps to preserve a reminiscence of how the names 'should be' pronounced. But even if all knowledge of the Norwegian language should disappear, some approximate Norwegian pronunciations of the surnames may survive, for at present the Norwegian language has no more influence than any of the other factors at work. Except for the school teacher who consciously resists Norwegian pronunciations, all those informants who can neither speak nor understand Norwegian use approximate Norwegian pronunciations almost to the same extent as the other informants. Because of the very complicated set of social factors influencing the pronunciations of the surnames, it is difficult to predict what Norwegian pronunciations will survive, but probably those used by a minimum of 75% of the informants have at least a chance of survival.

TWO NOTES ON VOWEL AND CONSONANT QUANTITY

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I

PROFESSOR R-M. S. Heffner's investigation of the effect of stress and intonation upon vowel and consonant quantity¹ somewhat resembles part of an investigation made by Professor R. C. Davis² and the writer.³ Since our conclusions are partially at variance with Heffner's, a brief explanation and comparison would seem in order.

We were concerned, not with the effect of stress and intonation, but with some of the other factors which may also be included under the general term 'sentence context.' We made oscillograph records⁴ of two pronunciations by six speakers,⁵ who were asked to pronounce in a 'normal' manner various sentences⁶ containing the word *seat*. The average durations for the [s] and [i] are as follow:

	Avg. duration of [s]	Avg. duration of [i]
1. This is a seat	.147	.284
2. This is a hard seat	.139	.330
3. This is a hard seat!	.141	.337
4. Is this a hard seat?	.128	.325
5. Is this a hard seat!	.136	.267
6. In the third row there is a vacant seat	.128	.286
7. In the third row the seat is vacant	.125	.160
8. There is a vacant seat in the third row	.133	.210
9. The seat in the third row is vacant	.149	.178
10. This is a mohair upholstered seat	.132	.310

1. *American Speech*, 16: 204-207 (1941).

2. Of the Department of Psychology, Indiana University.

3. The results were presented before the Experimental Phonetics Group, MLA, 1939. These two notes contain only part of the material there discussed.

4. The boundaries of speech sounds as recorded by kymograph and oscillograph are not entirely reconcilable. We discuss this in *The Effect of Stress upon Quantity in Dissyllables* (Indiana University Publications, Science Series, No. 8, 1939), p. 20 ff. and offer a schematic comparison, p. 45.

5. We have suggested elsewhere the importance of using several speakers, since the absolute duration of the initial consonant and to some extent of the vowel is partly a matter of individual speech habit. (See *The Effect of Stress upon Quantity in Dissyllables*, p. 41 ff.) A more careful analysis of our data gathered in the present investigation confirms our earlier observation. Without pausing to discuss the method or the detailed results of this analysis here, we simply call attention to the fact that the durations of the [s] and [i] and the explosion of the [t] are in part determined by individual speech habit. Obviously this does not imply that investigators, like Heffner, who use a single speaker are 'wrong,' but it does suggest the necessity for caution in making comparisons between durations as found in different speakers.

6. We used 19 different sentences but for our purpose here consider only 10 of these.

Citing the evidence from pairs of sentences like 'Did you bring the *food*?' and 'Where is the *food* we bought?' Heffner concludes that the vowel is shorter when the word receives lighter stress (i.e., in the second sentence). Because he does not present any evidence that the stress or loudness⁷ upon *food* is different in the sentences cited, the conclusion seems unwarranted. We suggest that *position* rather than stress is the factor causing the difference in vowel quantity. Both in Heffner's data and in our own, the vowel is decidedly longer when the word is last in the sentence. Compare sentence 6 with sentences 7, 8, and 9 above. In these four sentences, the position of the word would seem to be the chief distinguishing factor.⁸

Though not marked, there seems to be some tendency for position to affect the quantity of the initial [s], which is longer toward the beginning of the sentence. Compare 9 with 6, 7, 8, and 10.

Citing the evidence from pairs like 'Did you bring the *food*?' and 'Now let's have the *food*,' Heffner concludes that the vowel is shorter with rising intonation. The comparison of our sentences 2 and 4 above tends to bear this out, but the comparison of 4 and 1 tends to contradict it.⁹ The effect of intonation therefore would seem to be undetermined.

Of other 'sentence-context' factors whose influence on vowel or consonant quantity we checked, only one seemed to have any such influence, and that but slight and hence doubtful. The quantity of the [s] tends to be shorter when modifiers precede. Compare sentences 1, 2, and 10. The vowel does not exhibit a similar consistent tendency.

7. As used here 'stress' means 'loudness' (acoustically) or 'force' (physiologically); see *The Effect of Stress upon Quantity in Dissyllables*, p. 16, and similarly D. Jones, *An Outline of Eng. Phonetics*, 5th ed., §§911, 912. It is not synonymous with 'duration,' 'intonation,' or 'accent' ('prominence'). Heffner, we infer, uses 'stress' to mean 'prominence.' This difference in terminology does not affect the point at issue, for, whatever it is called, loudness is surely the factor which cannot be ignored in considering the accentual difference in these two sentences—provided, of course, position is not specifically taken into account.

8. The results are similar though not so striking when the 'final' word is followed by another sentence or clause:

	Avg. duration of [s]	Avg. duration of [i]	Avg. duration of pause
1. This is a hard seat	.155	.251	
2. This is a hard seat. I won't take it. . .	.158	.201	.90
3. This is a hard seat and I won't take it	.166	.221	.157

9. A comparison of 3 and 5 seems also, by Heffner's criteria, to be relevant, for 3 would seem to be an 'expression of surprise' and hence have rising intonation, and 5 an utterance 'of a dogmatic, contemptuous, sarcastic, or remonstrative nature' and hence have compound falling intonation. Heffner, however, has expressed doubt about the intonation pattern in these sentences, and, though for different reasons, we also share in this doubt. The comparison of 4 and 1, however, seems sufficient to make our point, which is, that between intonation and duration there is not a direct, cause-and-effect relationship.

In sentence context the variation in quantity of the vowel [i] and consonant [s] is considerable. The vowel duration ranges from .114 to .546, averaging .249; the consonant duration ranges from .032 to .333, averaging .133. Both Heffner's data and ours indicate what is obviously true, that context affects the quantity of both vowel and consonant, the latter not as much as the former. When we attempt to isolate the various factors that constitute 'sentence context' and to determine the effect of any one of such factors, the only one that seems to have a *direct* and unmistakable influence on vowel and consonant quantity is 'position.' Difference in accent or stress may or may not be accompanied by difference in vowel and consonant quantity.

II

Professor Bloch¹⁰ finds his 'most seductive example' of phonemic intersection by comparing the vowel in *pot*, *bomb*, *bother*, *sorry* with that in *pa*, *bal*m, *father*, *starry*. Here, according to Bloch, phonemic intersection occurs if *pod* is assigned to the first group and *pa'd* to the second, for '*pod* . . . is phonetically identical with *pa'd*.' My concern is not with the phonological problem Bloch thus raises, but with the phonetic evidence he uses.

Obviously the basic question is whether or not the vowels of *pod* (Gen. Am.) and *pa'd* are equal in quantity. In the absence of experimental data for this specific word-pair, we turn to data for similar word-pairs, i.e. 'homophones' which exhibit a difference in morphemic structure similar to that of *pod*, *pa'd*. Examples of such pairs are *tide*, *tied*; *rise*, *rye's*, etc. In 168 oscillograph records of such homophonic pairs we find that the average duration of the vowel in the bimorphemic words is about .030 sec. greater than that of the vowel in the monomorphemic words.¹¹ In spite of the fact that the longer vowel is not invariable in the bimorphemic words (occurring in only slightly more than 60% of the pairs), the tendency to use a longer vowel in such instances seems too marked and the durational difference too great to be merely a matter of chance. One may doubt therefore that *pod* and *pa'd* are 'phonetically identical.'

10. *American Speech* 16: 278-285 (Dec. 1941).

11. The complete list: *road*, *rowed*; *wade*, *weighed*; *tide*, *tied*; *ode*, *owed*; *side*, *sighed*; *toad*, *toed*; *load*, *lowed*; *bruise*, *brews*; *browse*, *brows*; *praise*, *prays*; *rise*, *rye's*; *rouse*, *rows*; *prize*, *prys*; *prose*, *pro's*. Of the total of 168 records, 114 records (55 pairs) as spoken by four speakers show an average duration of .429 sec. for the vowel in bimorphemic words as against .400 for the vowel in monomorphemic words; 28 records as spoken by fourteen speakers show a similar average difference of .039; 26 records as spoken by thirteen speakers show a similar average difference of .019.

SPEECH CURRENTS IN 'EGYPT'

GRACE PARTRIDGE SMITH

Carbondale, Illinois

BY THIS TITLE, no more is meant than certain ways of folk-speech in Southern Illinois. 'Egypt' as a nickname for this section is found in various dictionaries of slang, and it has long been adopted by dwellers in the lower reaches of Illinois to indicate their particular part of the state. They call themselves 'Egyptians,' and so they are termed out-of-state as well. The origin¹ of this name has, of course, nothing to do with the actual mode of speech in Southern Illinois, but words suggested by it have been found useful in the regional business and educational vocabulary. Frequent signs like 'Egyptian Iron Works,' and the like, show how acceptable the term is for commercial ventures. Even bricks in the sidewalk are often stamped 'Egyptian.' Furthermore, Southern Illinois State Teachers College, at Carbondale, has christened its news sheets, annuals, and directories variously *The Egyptian*, *The Sphinx*, *The Scarab*, *The Obelisk*, and *The Mummy-Box*.

For some time, the writer has observed chance currents of Egyptian speech in several towns of the area, especially in Carbondale (Jackson County) and outlying districts. A few selections from the assembled material are given here.

1. *The 'American Vulgate.'* In Egypt, popular speech includes many of the dialectical peculiarities common all over the United States. Instances of such usages may be heard in this area almost any day and anywhere, especially if one frequents trading centers, public thoroughfares, or the countryside. Some of the common verb forms noted are, for example: *I taken* (for 'I took'), *I had went* (for 'I went'), *I seen* and *I have saw* (for 'I saw'), *clumb* (for 'climbed'), *dove* (for 'dived'), and many others. Of those

1. The usual explanation given by residents of the area is that, in the early days, pioneers were forced by reason of failure of their own crops to journey to the fertile lands southward for corn 'as did the Israelites of old in the land of Egypt.' (Cf. John Lethem, *Historical and Descriptive Review of Illinois, the Southern Section*, 'Egypt,' Chicago, 1894, p. 9.) The conditions referred to existed as early as 1824 and have been remarked in a similar way from time to time. Undoubtedly the name *Cairo*, with its connotations, did help establish 'Egypt' as a nickname for southern Illinois. (Cf. *Illinois, a Descriptive and Historical Guide*, Chicago, 1939, p. 171.) Names like *Karnak* and *Thebes*, towns still on the map, may have had their influence. Again, there is the suggestion that the people of southern Illinois are dark-complexioned, 'thus resembling the inhabitants of Egypt' (George Earlie Shankle, *American Nicknames*, New York, 1937, p. 260).

mentioned, the expression *I taken* comes probably nearer to being a Southern usage than the others.²

II. *Student Lists*. Of some considerable interest are lists made by forty-seven college students³ of words used in their home communities. These young people represented many towns and villages widely scattered throughout Southern Illinois, and we may therefore infer that the frequency of each item in the tabulation below has some significance for the general speech-pattern of the area.

Nouns	Pronouns
<i>evening</i> (for 'afternoon').....10	<i>you-all</i> ⁴20
<i>piece</i> (for 'distance')..... 9	<i>you-uns</i> 3
<i>chimly</i> (for 'chimney')..... 6	<i>yous</i> 6
<i>poke</i> (for 'bag' or 'sack')..... 3	<i>we-uns</i> 2
Verbs	Adverbs
<i>pack</i> (for 'tote').....19	<i>right nigh</i> (for 'almost')..... 8
<i>tote</i> (for 'pack').....16	<i>onct</i> (for 'once') 4
<i>fetch</i> (for 'bring').....13	<i>fire</i> (for 'far')..... 8
<i>fixin'</i> (to do something)..... 2	<i>powerful</i> (for 'very')..... 2

In addition to familiar colloquialisms, these same students jotted down various examples of campus slang. The most vivid are given here: *cob* (a backwoodsman), *fizz-fuzz* (plain Coca-Cola), *ginny* (a glamorous co-ed), *fancy-pants* or *panty-waist* (a 'sissy'), *to apple-polish* (to use flattery for ulterior ends), *to upset the apple-cart* (to spoil plans), *to shoot the bull* (to fabricate). Longer expressions are: *Loan me a thin*, *Are you hep to the jive?* *I drew a blank*, *I shot a decoy*, *He was plus a coat*, *It gripes my soul*, *It gets in my hair*, *I never said dog to them about it*.

III. *Nonce and Infrequent words*. Some examples, from the writer's notebook, of nouns belonging to this class may be cited:

1. *duepushency*. A homemade word invented by a farmer in these parts who is described as a 'character,' and whose talk is in his self-made vocabulary.

2. *frog-eye gravy*. A delicacy familiar to Egyptians, and explained as the gravy left in the skillet after frying ham. The black particles that slough off the meat in the frying process appear to simulate a frog's eye

2. Cf. H. L. Mencken, *The American Language*, 4th ed., New York, 1937, p. 428, note

2. It may be noted that when we come to Egypt, we are on the edge of the South.

3. Of the Southern Illinois State Teachers College, Carbondale.

4. Cf. Mencken, *op. cit.*, p. 449, note 3.

as they float in the globules of grease. When used over buttermilk biscuit, the dish is the *summum bonum* of the Egyptian gastronome. This locution for 'ham gravy' is said to be used in Missouri, and something similar is frequently referred to as 'hush-puppy' in Tennessee⁵ and Florida.⁶

3. *shot-gun house*. Used to describe a house whose rooms are all in a line: evidently a type of architecture similar to the 'gunbarrels' of the South mentioned by Irvin S. Cobb.⁷

4. *skip-bite*. A family coinage, referring to the last bite taken before ending the meal. It is uncertain whether this term refers to the actual last mouthful or to a favorite morsel of food taken just before leaving the table—perhaps no more than a bite of potato! The word 'skip' in connection with food is reported from New York State but in a different sense from that indicated above.⁸

Four verbs, recorded below, appear fairly uncommon. The first and fourth were reported to the writer as being in actual use in a western section of Egypt. The second and third belong, as far as the writer's observation goes, to the vocabulary of only one individual. However, other contacts might bring any of these words to light. The verbs in question follow:

1. *to gaum* (pronounced [gɒm] in the section where used). In Wright's *English Dialect Dictionary* (Vol. II, p. 557, col. 2), it is stated that the verb is used in many English shires and also in America, meaning 'to besmear, daub, soil, dirty; to clog, or otherwise choke with grease or dirt.' The occasion for its use in this particular case had to do with spilling milk and otherwise 'messaging' things up. Not so common when used in this sense.

2. *to mizzle*. Obsolete, except dialectical and rare (NED). The writer's informant used it in the sense of 'to confuse' or 'to muddle.'

3. *to mommock*. The meaning of this verb given in the NED is 'to break or cut in pieces; to crumble, tear, or mangle.' The earliest use listed is in Shakespeare's *Coriolanus* (I, iii, 71). When asked to give an example of the use of this verb, my informant said that when her husband failed to kill a chicken at the first blow of the axe, she said, 'You've mommocked it all up!'

4. *to quelten down*. A variation of the verb *to quilt*, used with 'up' and

5. Cf. Joseph Leon Hicks, 'Florida and Tennessee,' *American Speech*, 15: 215-216 (1940).

6. Cecile Hulse Matschat, *Suwannee River*, New York, 1928, p. 220.

7. Irvin S. Cobb, *Snake Doctor and Other Stories*, New York, 1923, p. 144.

8. Harold W. Thompson, *Body, Boots, and Britches*, Philadelphia, 1940, p. 504.

'down,' also singly, meaning 'to beat or thrash thoroughly' (Wright, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 683, col. 1).

Several verbs in daily use in this community are of interest: *to jelly* (already commented on in a previous issue of this journal);⁹ *to stop by for*, or *to pass for* (for 'to call for'); *to meet up with* (for 'to meet a person or accident'—used in both ways).

Phrases involving unusual uses of verbs may be mentioned: *to crack the window* (for 'to open the window or door a crack'); *to pick the eggs* (for 'to gather the eggs'); *to look the berries* (for 'to stem the berries,' not just to pick out poor or crushed fruit; in the student lists mentioned above, fifteen persons reported the colloquialism, 'to look the berries'); *to cut a burr* (one instance observed, for 'to gnaw a nut'; seeing a squirrel with a nut in his paws, a little boy said, 'He's cutting a burr!').

iv. *Other Folksay.* Egypt is not without its old-time proverbs, such as 'Give him an inch and he'll take a mile,' or 'He doesn't know B from a bull's foot.' Pages could be filled with such expressions used in these communities. The same may be said of other figures of speech in daily use, for the most part traditional, but sometimes homemade. Examples of current local comparisons are 'as open as a bootjack' and 'as cold as kraut.' When company arrives, perhaps unexpectedly, the common remark is, 'We'll put the big pot in the little one!' When children need a dose of 'hickory oil' the threat that 'I'm just going to give you one out of the salt!' has intimidated generations of Egypt's Little Orvies.

v. *Proper Names.* A few samples of curious proper names in Carbondale and the surrounding country are given here:

1. *Surnames.* Judging from merely superficial observation, monosyllabic surnames are extremely numerous in this vicinity. No extensive check has been made, but a few lists at hand have been consulted and the results seem to bear out this conclusion. Whether a thoroughgoing investigation of surnames in this area would show similar proportions of monosyllabic names is a question. All the answer one can get from local residents is that the short names came from Tennessee!

To indicate some of the lists consulted, the Carbondale telephone directory includes 2,000 surnames. Of these, 17% are monosyllabic. Of 2,014 entries in *The Sphinx*, the directory of the Southern Illinois State Teachers College, 25% are of one syllable. Murphysboro, next-door town to Carbondale, lists 1,400 surnames in the telephone directory, of which 16% are monosyllabic. Turning back to 1865, a ledger in a country store

9. *American Speech*, 16: 75 (1941).

at Cobden, about 16 miles south of Carbondale, recorded for that year 125 names of those who dropped in to buy anything from axe-handles to bitters and worm candy. Of these, forty-two names were monosyllabic.

Examples of the type in the Carbondale lists are: *Ahl, Beggs, Burr, Card, Clutts, Duck, Eads, Figg, Fly, Furr, Gass, Gum, Hubbs, Ice, Joe, Kee, Legg, Mudd, Rott, Sill, Sinks, Snow, Troutt, Vick, Vitt, Wham, Zinn, Zwick*. Some of the names in the old Cobden ledger are *Buff, Cripps, Mick, Side, Smouse, and Waw*.

2. *Given-names*. As elsewhere in Egypt, homespun names appear good enough for the boys, but something fancy is demanded for girls, such as *Tophelia, Vondilee, Virgin Mary* (negro), *Juva, Isia, Ocean, Melbourne, Vetelia*, and others as peculiar.

3. *Place-names*. Many of the early place names have given way to less colorful and more practical ones. For example, Carrier Mills was formerly *Cat-Skin*, and Johnson City was *Shakerag*. Some of the unusual present-day names of towns and villages are, *Abe, Bonegap, Buzzard Glory, Tamms, and Raddle*. But *Energy, Pistol City, and Slapout* are now in the junk-yard of outmoded town names.

ADVICE TO GLAMOUR GIRLS IN 1868

How great were a lady's problems in 1868 upon going to the photographer! The following item from the *Louisville Daily Journal* for Friday, March 20, 1868, p. 2, gives assistance to those confronted with the ordeal:

Ladies when having their photographs taken may observe the following rules with some advantage to their appearance: when a lady would compose her mouth to a bland and serene character, she should say, 'Bosom,' and keep the expression into which the mouth subsides. If, on the other hand, she wishes to assume a distinguished and somewhat noble bearing, not suggestive of sweetness, she should say, 'Brush,' the result of which is

infallible. If she would make her mouth look small, she must say, 'Flip,' but if the mouth be already too small and needs enlarging, she must say, 'Capage.' If she wishes to look mournful, she must say, 'Kerchunk.' If resigned, she must forcibly ejaculate, 'S'cat.'

This is not recommended as a general practice, one feels sure, although Hollywood aspirants might try it before the mirror.

But what is *Capage*, please? No dictionary gives the word and yet it is used here as if it were as well known as *Kerchunk* and *S'cat*. Does any reader recall the word and its usage?

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MARK TWAIN'S REPRESENTATION OF NEGRO SPEECH

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IN AN INTRODUCTORY explanatory note to *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, Mark Twain says that the representations of dialects have been done 'painstakingly.' The care Twain took with dialectical pronunciation is well revealed by an intensive study of the pronunciation of Nigger Jim. The eight pages in which Jim tells Huck of his running away from his owner¹ provide ample materials for studying Twain's representation of Missouri Negro speech. He shows his linguistic sense by using 'eye dialect' in only five words: *ben* (*been*), *b'fo* (first syllable), *han's*, *wuz*, and *um*. But even the last two of these are used for purposes of distinction, as will be shown later. By not re-spelling words for eye dialect, Twain makes Jim's conversation easy reading. Only about one-third of the words are re-spelled at all, and nearly all of these indicate some variation from Standard English—low colloquial, Southern American, or Negro.

Thirty of the re-spelled words show low colloquial pronunciations: *acrost*, *afeard*, *alwuz* (stressed), *awluz* (unstressed), *ag'in* (*again*), *agin* (*against*), *bymeby*, *clumb*, *chanst*, *ef* (unstressed *if*), *hain't* (*haven't*), *jis*, *jedged*, *genlmen*, *ketched* (*cached*), *kin* (*can*), *fur* (*far*), *fer* (unstressed *for*), *git*, *a-holt*, *kinder*, *more'n*, *mysef*, *off'n*, *out'n*, *resk*, *skift* (*skiff*), *tuck* (*took*), *wisht* (*wish*), and *wunst*. In addition, Twain consistently spells words ending in *-ing* with only *-in'*; one exception occurs in the word *a-stirring*, which must be taken as an oversight. The dialect of the low colloquial speaker is further indicated by the use of participles with *a*-prefixes. Of the twenty participles which occur in the passage under consideration, eight have this prefix. The author's principle seems to have been to use the prefix only when the participle was immediately preceded by a consonant; at least in this passage all eight examples of the form occur after preceding consonant sounds.

Twain indicates the Southern dialect by dropping unstressed syllables, by omitting post-vocalic and final *r*'s, by diphthongizing [ɛ] into [eɪ], by dropping the final consonant of an ending consonant combination, and by preserving the archaic [aɪ] pronunciation of *oi*. Unstressed syllables are dropped almost consistently in words like *'bove*, *'way*, *b'longs*, *b'lieve*, and *k'leck*; the two exceptions to the dropping are *business*, which drops

1. *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, Mississippi Edition (Harper, 1923), pp. 58-65.

the unstressed syllable in American speech generally, and *powerful*, which was probably an oversight on the author's part. Post-vocalic and final *r*'s are omitted in only one-third of the words (twenty-one omissions out of sixty-three words), but since the *r*'s are omitted from the more common words like *do'*, *mo'* (but retained in *more'n*), *heah*, and *dah*, the language gives the effect of having eliminated them. The diphthongization of the 'short' vowel [ɛ] into [ɛɪ] or [eɪ] is given in two words: *one-laigged* and *dey* (*there*; the same spelling as the word for *they*). Twain almost always omitted the final consonant of a consonant combination ending a word, as in *lan'*, *islan'*, *nex'*, and *wouldn'*; the only exceptions are in forms with extra sentence stress and in *warn't*, *want*, *hain't*, and *aft*, spellings which have to be preserved in order that the reader may recognize the word meant. Sixteen of the fifty-seven omissions of this type are final *t* or *d* before a succeeding initial *t* or *d*; these, of course, would be omitted most of the time in ordinary American speech, as would the *t* of consonant-plus-*n't* endings when followed by an initial consonant in the next word, but the consistency of omission is a Southern characteristic. The archaic pronunciation of *oi* as [aɪ] is preserved in two words: *p'int* and *gwyne*. The form *gwyne* is used to precede an infinitive (as in 'I ain' gwyne to . . .'); the form *goin'*, for actual physical motion.

Twain includes only two Negro language features in Jim's speech: (1) the shift of [θ] to [f] in *nuffn* and *sumfn*; (2) the shift of [ð] to [d] in *de*, *dey*, *wid*, and all other words except *yuther* (*other*), which he may have preserved for the readers' comprehension, and one occurrence of *that*, an oversight in 'that one-laigged nigger dat . . .'

But Twain's virtuosity in the representation of dialectical pronunciation is best seen by a study of his variant spellings for the same word. Ordinarily one would classify variant spellings as inconsistent and inaccurate, but a careful analysis of the sentences reveals that Twain knew what he was doing. For instance, he usually writes *en* for *and*, but he also uses '*n*', *an'*, and *and*. *En*, the customary form, is ordinary unstressed *and*; *an'* is used only once and that in a stressed position in the sentence, 'Mighty few—an' *dey* ain't no use to a body'; '*n*' is used only once and in a stereotyped expression, 'up'n died,' indicating that it was short and was felt to be a part of the word which preceded it (cf. 'up'n run,' etc.); *and*, used once in Jim's speech, is apparently the result of a lapse on the part of the author, for it is not particularly stressed. *Of* likewise is spelled four ways: *er*, *o'*, *uv*, and *of*. *Er*,² the most frequent spelling, is unstressed *of*, as

2. Since Southern authors pronounce *er* as [ə] in words like [æftə], many of the dialect writers use *er* for the *schwa* vowel.

in 'one er dem'; *o*' is an extremely short form which appears in two stereotyped expressions, 'stack o' money' and 'o' course' (cf. '*n*' above); *uv* is unstressed *of* before a vowel; *of* is a stressed form, occurring in 'to see what wuz gwyne to come of it' and 'I on'y los' 'bout nine of it.'

The difference between stressed and unstressed pronunciations is shown again in words ending in consonant combinations; in the stressed form the final consonant is pronounced, but in the unstressed form it is omitted. The most frequently used, of course, are the unstressed spellings—*doan'*, *ain'*, *couldn'*, *didn'*, *mine*, *wouldn'*. When stressed these become *ain't*, *couldn't*, *didn't*, *mind*, and *wouldn't*. The first sentence of the passage studied has a good example of the difference in stress: 'Doan' hurt me—don't!'

For *them* four spellings are used: '*em*', '*m*', *um*, and *dem*. *Um* is the common unstressed pronunciation of *them*; '*m*' is an exceedingly short form, as in 'to git 'm?'; '*em*' is a stressed form; *dem* is used once as a derogatory adjective in 'one er dem chuckleheads,' and hence is strongly stressed. *If* is written as *ef* (long) and '*f*' (short); the latter is used when *if* is followed by a vowel and is said so quickly that it becomes an initial consonant in the next word, as in 'f I' and 'f you'. *Was* is written '*uz*', *wuz*, '*s*', and *was*. The first spelling is used in stressed positions and usually follows a consonant; the second is ordinarily stressed or said slowly; '*s*' occurs only in 'I's a-gwyne,' where it is short and merely forms a consonant between two vowels; *was*, not unduly stressed, seems an oversight. *Than* occurs in an elided form, *more'n*; a stressed form, *dan*; and an unstressed form, *den*. *Alwuz* is the stressed, *awluz* the unstressed, form of *always*.

Even a short study such as this demonstrates that Mark Twain was both sincere and competent in his representation of the dialect of Nigger Jim. He revealed the salient low colloquial, Southern, and Negro features of Jim's speech, not by a thoroughly 'consistent' spelling of every word, but by what is better, an accurate one. His failure to systematize his spelling allowed him to write each word as it would sound in a given sentence, and thus he could represent in full detail the nuances of Jim's pronunciation.

THE *DAE* AND TOPOGRAPHIC TERMS

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IN A RECENT volume entitled *Topographic Terms in Virginia*,¹ George Davis McJimsey has made a comprehensive study of a limited and hitherto neglected portion of the American vocabulary. Although this book is not correct in every detail,² it is, nevertheless, an important contribution to American lexicography, and as such it inevitably invites comparison in various ways with the *Dictionary of American English*, now well over halfway through the alphabet.

The recent publication of Part XIII of the *DAE* (*Mingo to Outdoor Life*) reveals the fact that the editors of that work have had access to McJimsey's book,³ although it was not available for their use in the preceding parts of the dictionary. It is, therefore, proper to bring together now those topographic terms given in McJimsey's glossary which are not included in the first twelve parts of the *DAE*, for such a list may serve as a not too trivial supplement to the work of the Chicago dictionary-makers.⁴

The following list includes all the topographic terms given by McJimsey but not found in the first twelve parts of the *DAE*, except for those, common to England and America, which are entered in the *OED* or *Webster's New International Dictionary*. It is to be noted that McJimsey expresses doubt about the meaning of a few of these terms (followed by a question mark below), and that he admits the likelihood that some of his compounds are too 'loose,' for he points out that he has included 'all compounds (whatever their form) which seem to be idiomatic or to be difficult for general comprehension.'⁵ But even if one assumes that a good many of the following terms—and they are more than a hundred—should not have found their way into the *DAE*, it is somewhat strange that all of them should have been left out.⁶

1. After it appeared serially in *American Speech*, 15: 3-38, 149-79, 262-300, 381-419 (1940), it was published as *American Speech Reprints and Monographs* No. 3 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1940).

2. See *Language*, 17: 275-77 (1941).

3. See, for example, the quotations under *mire hole*, *mud lick*, *mulatto land*, *nooning place*, *old town*.

4. A list of those terms for which McJimsey has found quotations earlier than those in the *DAE* is given in *Language*, 17: 277.

5. Page 15.

6. The editors of the *DAE* were by no means unaware of the existence of some of these terms; for example, *cleared ground* is to be found *s.v.* *cleared* and *huckleberry swamp s.v.* *huckleberry*. But they apparently concluded from their evidence that these

The terms not found in the *DAE* follow: *arrow reed swamp*, *barren fields*, *barren plains*, *barrow land*, *bay coast*, *bee suck*, *big woods*, *birchen swamp*, *black pocosin*, *black swamp*, *blue marsh*, *blue marsh meadow*, *boat tide*, *branch head*, *branch mouth*, *branch side*, *broken hills*, *broken islands (isles)*, *broken marsh*, *broken ridge*, *buffalo pond*, *cape point*, *carredge (?)*, *carrying ground*, *cattle ground*, *cedar branch*, *cedar island*, *cedar swamp pocosin*, *clavis (?)*, *clay lick*, *clay pinch*, *cleared ground (land)*, *clear ground (land)*, *clear swamp*, *cod point*, *cohoke*, *common water mark*, *creek bank*, *creek head*, *creek('s) mouth*, *cross creek*, *dam run*, *dividing mountain*, *drowned marsh*, *dry bottom*, *dry branch*, *dry gut*, *dry hollow*, *dry marsh*, *dry meadow*, *dry valley*, *eastern waters*, *elk lick*, *elk wallow*, *falling creek*, *falling spring*, *fall land*, *fall rock*, *false bank*, *fashet (?)*, *first low ground*, *fish(ing) hole*, *fishing shore*, *flat ground*, *flat swamp*, *flowing spring*, *freestone cave*, *fresh(-water) brook*, *fresh(-water) creek*, *fresh ground*, *fresh(-water) pond*, *fresh spring*, *fresh-water branch*, *glade run*, *green branch*, *green swamp*, *gullet swamp*, *gully branch*, *gum swamp*, *gut run*, *gutter swamp*, *hanging rock*, *head drafts (draughts)*, *head run*, *high ground*, *highland ground*, *highland pond*, *hill foot*, *home field*, *horse lick*, *horseshoe bend*, *huckleberry slash*, *huckleberry swamp*, *Indian meadow*, *Indian well*, *isthma (?)*, *juniper swamp*, *lease land*, *level ground*, *licking hole*, *marl bank*, *marsh necks*, *marsh pasture*, *marsh point*, *marsh side*, *meadow branch*, *meadow draft*, *meadow side*, *meadow slash*, *miles end*, *mill branch*, *mill slash*, *mill swamp*.

had not crystallized into compounds and therefore listed them under the appropriate adjectives. Again, the evidence on which the *DAE* is based may not have warranted their inclusion; but it is rather strange to find terms like *bear wallow*, *deer lick*, *dry creek*, *flat land*, *head branches*, *Indian field*, *marsh ground*, and *mill run* given in the *DAE* and similar terms like *elk wallow*, *horse lick*, *dry branch*, *flat ground*, *head drafts*, *Indian meadow*, *marsh pasture*, and *mill branch* left out.

PHONETIC TRANSCRIPTION

Transcription of part of a phonographic recording of a radio broadcast of the Graduating Ceremonies of the United States Naval Academy, December 19, 1942.

1. Chaplain William Thomas:¹ 'let əs 'prei|| ɔl'maɪtɪ 'gəd 'huz 'mɜsɪ ɪz 'laɪk ðə 'waɪdnɪs əv ðə 'si| huz kə'mand ɪz 'ouvnə 'al nd huz 'gudnɪs 'nevə 'feɪlɪθ|| wɪ kə'mend tə 'ðəɪ 'keə 'ðouz 'naʊ 'gouɪŋ 'foəθ frəm 'dðɪs 'sku|| 'grant 'dðem θru 'ənɾəbl 'sɜvɪs tə 'kɪp 'ʌm'mæd dðə trə'dɪfɪnz dðət 'naʊ bɪ'lɔŋ tə 'dðem| 'streŋθən 'dðem ɪn tɛmp'teɪfɪn| pɾɪ'zɜv 'dðem 'ɪn 'deɪndʒə|| 'kɪp 'ʌs ju'naitɪd æz ə 'pipl| wɪθ 'breɪv 'hats| 'klɪə 'maɪndz ʔæn 'stædɪ 'nɜɪvz|| gɪv 'wɪzdəm ænd 'streŋθ tu 'ɔl 'dðouz ɔn hum dðə 'heɪvɪ rɪ,spənsə- 'bɪlətɪz| ʔəv 'lɪdʒɪp 'rest|| 'grant əs 'ɔl tə 'du 'əʊə 'ʃeə 'glædlɪ ænd wə'dðəʊt 'flɪntɪŋ æt ʔɛnɪ 'sækɾɪfəɪs| fəə dðə prezə'veɪfɪn ʔəv dðə 'frɪdəm æn 'raɪts| fəə mɪʃ 'ʔʌðəz hæv so 'væljəntlɪ 'gɪvn dðeər 'ɔl|| 'dðɪz 'blesɪŋz wɪ 'ask ɪn dðə 'neɪm əv 'dʒɪzəs 'kraɪst 'əʊə 'lɒəd| ɪn 'huz 'wɜdz wɪ 'prei|| 'əʊə 'fədðə| 'hu 'aət ɪn 'hevn| 'æləʊd bɪ 'dðəɪ 'neɪm|| 'dðəɪ 'kɪŋdəm 'kʌm 'dðəɪ 'wɪl 'bɪ 'dʌn ɔn 'ɜɪθ æz ɪt ɪz ɪn 'hevn|| 'gɪv 'ʌs 'dðɪs 'deɪ 'əʊə 'deɪlɪ 'breɪd| æn fəə'gɪv əs 'əʊə 'tɾɛspəsɪz æz wɪ fəə'gɪv 'dðouz hu 'tɾɛs'pəs ə'genst əs| æn 'lɪd əs 'nɒt ɪntu 'tɛmp'teɪfɪn| bət dɪ'lɪvər əs frəm 'ɪvl| fəə 'dðəɪn ɪz dðə 'kɪŋdəm| æn dðə 'pəʊər| æn dðə 'glɒrɪ fəə 'evə ænd 'evə| ʔə'mɛn||

2. Rear-Admiral Russell Wilson, superintendent of the Naval Academy:² 'mɪstə 'sekəteɪɪ| 'dʒɛntlmən əv ðə 'rɛdʒəmənt| əə 'frɛndz| æn 'gests|| wɪ ə 'gæðəd 'hɪə tə'dɛɪ| ɪn kə'nekʃn wɪθ ðɪ 'seəəmounɪz əv ðɪ 'grædʒu- 'eɪfɪn| 'ʌv ðə 'klas əv 'naɪn'tɪn 'hændrəd æn 'fɔtɪ 'tu| 'ʌv ðə ju'naitəd 'steɪts 'neɪvl ə'kædəmɪ|| 'ðeə hæv 'bɪn ə'bāʊt 'nāɪntɪ| 'sʌtʃ ə'keɪŋz|| ɪn 'jɪz 'pæst|| 'ðeə hæv bɪn 'moə ðæn 'fɔtɪ 'sʌtʃ ə'keɪŋz| ɪn 'ðɪs 'hɔv|| 'ðeə kud 'bɪ 'nou 'moə 'taɪmlɪ| 'nou 'moə 'tɪpəkl| 'ə'keɪŋz| 'ðæn| 'ðɪs| tu'deɪ|| ɪn ðɪ 'sentə əv 'ðɪs ə'sembldʒ| wɪ hæv ðɪ 'grædʒueɪtɪŋ 'klas|| 'ðɪs 'klas| ʔæn ðɪ 'ʔʌðə 'mɪd'ʃɪpmən 'prezənt| rɛpɾɪ'zɛnt æn 'tɪpəfai| ðɪ 'əərmd 'fɔəsɪz| əv 'əə 'kʌntrɪ|| 'ðeɪ əə 'kɪn| 'strɔŋ| 'æm'bɪʃəs| 'treɪnd| 'staut əv 'həət| ʔæn

1. The speaker was born in Mississippi, March 21, 1892. Many of the final voiced consonants were unvoiced, and emitted with considerable breath pressure. This was particularly noticeable in words ending with [z], which frequently sounded like [s].

2. The speaker was born in New York State, December 27, 1883. This speaker also unvoices some of the final voiced consonants, notably [dʒ], [dʒ], and [z].

wiθ ði 'gud 'tʃɪə mɪtʃ ɪz 'ɔlweɪz| eɪ 'greɪt 'mɪləteəri 'ʔæset|| 'ðeɪ rɛpə'zent|
 ði 'aʊnd 'foʊsəz əv 'aʊ 'kɑntri|| ə'rāʊnd ə'bāʊt 'ðēm| ɪn 'bæk əv 'ðēm|
 kə'nektɪd wiθ 'ðēm bɑɪ 'bāʊndz| əv ə'fɛkʃn| əv 'praɪd| ænd əv 'hoʊp| əv
 'mɛn ən 'wɪmən frəm 'evri 'sɛkʃn| əv aʊ 'kɑntri| . . . hæz 'dɑn eɪ 'kredətəbl
 pə'fɒməns| ʔæt ðə 'neɪvl ə'kædəmɪ|| 'ðeɪ 'lɪv 'hɪə wɪð 'haɪ ,rɛpju'teɪʃn| wiθ
 'kæʔɪktə| ʔəm'bɪʃən| ʔən| 'ʔɛkspək'teɪʃn| ʔəv 'sɜvɪs| ɪn 'ðæt 'greɪtɪst əv
 'ɔl 'sɜvəsɪz| ði 'sɜvɪs| ʔəv 'ðeə 'kɑntri| ɪn ə 'wɔʔ ət 'sɪ|| . . .

3. Secretary of the Navy, Franklin Knox:³ 'ædməʊl 'wɪlsn| 'mɛn əv ðə
 'klæs əv 'foʊəri 'tu| 'mɛn əv ðə 'rɛdʒəmɛnt| ən aʊ 'ges:|| 'ju 'jʌŋ 'mɛn| aʊ
 ə'baut tə 'lɪv 'ðɪs 'greɪt ,ɪnstə'tuʃn| ɪn mɪtʃ ju hæv bɪn 'treɪnd| ɪn ðə
 'fɑndə'mentlɪz əv 'sɪ 'kɑm'bæt|| 'ju aʊ 'gouɪŋ ɪntu 'ʔæktɪv 'sɜvəs| ʔæt eɪ
 'taɪm mən 'ɔl ðət ju hæv 'lɛnd 'hɪə| wɪl bɪ 'put tə ðə 'test| ðə su'prɪm 'test
 əv 'wɔʔ|| 'ðeə ɪz 'nɒv 'pasəbl sɪtʃu'weɪʃn| ɪn mɪtʃ ə 'jʌŋ 'mæn əv 'spɪəʊt|
 wəd 'ræðə bɪ 'pleɪst| ðæn prə'saɪslɪ mɛə 'ju| aʊ 'pleɪst| tu'detɪ|| 'mɪljənz
 əv 'jʌŋ 'mɛn:|| 'ɔl 'oʊvə ə'mɛəʔəkə| wəd 'laɪk tə bɪ ɪn 'juʔə 'pleɪsəz||

'fartɪŋ eɪ sək'sesfəl 'wɔʔ| 'teɪks 'moʊ ðən 'mɪə 'kɜɪdʒ|| 'moʊst 'mɛn
 hæv 'kɜɪdʒ|| ɪt 'teɪks 'treɪnɪŋ|| ɪt 'teɪks 'mə'ræl|| ɪt 'teɪks rɪ'wɔʔsfulnɛs|| ɪt
 'teɪks sə'boʊdɪ'neɪʃn tu ə'θɒʔəti|| ən 'faɪnəlɪ| ɪt 'teɪks 'ðæt dɪ'tɜmə'neɪʃn|
 mɪtʃ 'kæʔɪz ə 'mæn tu hɪz əb'dʒɛktɪv| ʔæt 'mæt'evə 'kɔst||

'ju 'entə ɔn 'ðɪs 'greɪtəst 'wɔʔ ðə 'wɜld hæz 'evə 'sɪn| 'treɪnd|| 'mɪljənz
 hu wɪl 'fɛr ɪts 'demdʒəz wɪð 'ju| 'keɪm frəm sɪ'vɪljən 'laɪf| . . . 'hu pə'foʊs
 aʊ 'ʌn'treɪnd|| 'ju 'ðeə'fɔʔ| 'keəɪ eɪ 'faʊ 'greɪtə rɪ'spɑnsə'bɪləti| ju 'mɛn
 əv 'ðɪs ə'kædəmɪ ən əv 'ðɪs 'klæs| ðæn ði 'ʌðə 'jʌŋ 'mɛn: hu aʊ 'kɑmɪŋ
 ɪntə 'ðɪs 'wɔʔ frəm sɪ'vɪljən 'laɪf| æz 'vɒlən'tɪʔz|| 'daʊnt fə'get tə bɪ
 'θæŋkfl fɔʔ 'ðɪs əd'væntɪdʒ mɪtʃ ju 'hæv||

'aɪ 'kɑm tə ju| 'fɪʃ frəm ðə 'sɪn| əv ðə 'fɜst 'greɪt ɪn'geɪdʒmɛnt əv 'ðɪs
 'wɔʔ|| ɪn 'ɪts rɪ'mɪdɪt ə'fɛk'ts| ən 'nɪə'baɪ rɪ'zɒlts| ɪt wəz eɪ sək'sesfl
 ɪn'geɪdʒmɛnt fɔʔ ði 'enəmi|| ɪn ɪts 'lɔŋ 'taɪm ɪ'fɛk'ts| ænd ɪts 'ʌltəmət
 rɪ'zɒlts| ɪt wɪl 'ʃɔʊlɪ kɑn'trɪbjut| tu 'aʊə 'sɜtn 'vɪktəri|| 'ðɪs ɪ'ɪnɪʃl ən-
 'geɪdʒmɛnt| wəz 'fɒt mɪl 'boʊθ 'aʊ 'kɑntri ən 'ðæt əv 'aʊ 'enəmi dʒə'pæn|
 wə sə'pouzdəlɪ æt 'pɪs|| ði 'ənvɔɪz əv dʒə'pæn wə ɪn 'aʊ 'kæpətɪ| ɔn eɪ
 prɪ'tendəd 'pɪsfl 'mɪʃən|| 'ðɪz nɪ'goufɪ'eɪʃənz hæd bɪn ,ʔɑnɪntə'ʌptəd||
 'aʊ 'gəvənmɛnt wəz ə'weɪtɪŋ ə rɪ'plai| tu 'sɜtn prə'pouzlz|| 'ɔl'moʊst| ʔæt
 ðə 'veəri 'aʊə| mɛn 'ðɪs 'ænsə 'wəz tə bɪ rɪ'sɪvd| 'ʔæktʃulɪ 'fɔʊəri 'mɪnəts
 brɪ'fɔʔ| ɪt wəz də'lɪvəd| ði 'enəmi dɪ'sendəd wɪðəʊt 'wɒnɪŋ: ə'pɔn 'aʊə
 'aʊt'pouʃts| ɪn hə'wɔʔjə|| 'faɪv 'ʔəʊəz 'ʔæftə 'ðæt| ðə 'prɪmɪə əv dʒə'pæn|
 wəz ən'geɪdʒd ɪn 'tɛɪŋ:| ðə ə'mɛəʔkən: əm'bæsədə 'tu dʒə'pæn| ðæt

3. The speaker was born in Boston, Massachusetts, January 1, 1874.

dʒə'pænz 'plʌpəsəz wə 'pɪsfl|| eɪ 'moʊ 'dæmnɪŋ ə'kaʊnt| ʌv 'ɪnfəməs
 'tɹetʃəri| wəz 'nevə rɪ'kɔədəd ɪn ðə 'hɪstəri ʌv ðə 'wɒləɪd| . . .

Note: These transcriptions were prepared with the assistance of the following graduate students in Phonetics in Teachers College, Columbia University: Helen Beebe, Florence Greco, Louise Giordano, Lona Greennan, Jo Humphrey, Ellen Kaufman, Mabel Lofgren, Maud McPherson, Philip Rothman, Ida Stoller.

'BEATEREE'

The Reverend Francis L. Palmer of Saint Paul, Minnesota, sends some supplementary occurrences of the slang term *beateree*, a person or thing that 'beats all,' from *Somebody's Neighbors*, the collected stories of Rose Terry Cooke, 1881. The *DAE*'s earliest citation for this once popular word is from a story in the *Atlantic Monthly*, 1861. It seems to be extinct in the present century.

"This is the beatereel" exclaimed Aunt Huldah. (She had just learned of her nephew's plan to marry.) ('Freedom Wheeler's Controversy,' p. 323.) "Well," said Israel . . . , "women folks are the beateree." ('Mrs. Flint's Married Experience,' p. 413.)

claims to citizenship by birth of the great majority who present themselves.' After referring to the difficulty of proving American birth in many instances, he goes on to say that scholars 'who have specialized in phonetics and dialect geography . . . can answer the question "Is this man American born and bred?" with absolute accuracy in well over 95 per cent of all cases.' This strikes us as a very attractive proposal. Our colleagues in the departments of Economics and Political Science have been getting jobs with the government these many years now, while we have been left decidedly out in the cold. This unhappy situation may soon be at an end. Get ready, men—trains leave for Washington every hour on the hour. All aboard!

GOVERNMENT JOBS FOR PHONETICIANS?

The writer of a letter to the *New York Times* (February 2, 1942) suggests that 'bureaus of vital statistics employ the services of practical phoneticians, who could validate rapidly, cheaply, and efficiently the

'HE DID HER WRONG'

This is perhaps not the proper time to poke fun at our British cousins, but we cannot resist noting that the version of *Frankie and Johnny* in the *Oxford Book of Light Verse* has the refrain: 'He was her man, but he did her wrong.'

EDITORIALS AND REVIEWS

'ARMY TALK'

COLONEL Elbridge Colby's *Army Talk*¹ is a stimulating and entertaining compilation, which would be useful to soldiers interested in knowing why they talk the way they do, to the sometimes puzzled relatives and friends of men in the service, and to linguists studying the shop-talk and slang of a highly self-sufficient and partly isolated group in our population. Although the author has wisely used the NED for much of the etymology and semantic history of the words he examines, he knows that still more is not to be found in that source; he has therefore, with skill and originality, drawn material from Army Regulations and General Orders, from military histories and old texts such as Duane's *Handbook for Infantry* (1813), and from his own twenty-five years of army service and ten years of correspondence on this subject.

The entries, which vary from one or two lines to a page or more, are about evenly divided between the Army's official and technical terminology, in so far as the soldier uses it in his daily speech, and the slang he invents for himself or adapts from miscellaneous origins. They illustrate how in peace time the professional soldier takes many of his terms from the language or the conditions he finds on foreign service: *top-side* from China, *padre* and *sunshiner* from the Philippines and Panama, *hooch* from Alaska. The rapid expansion of the Army in war time brings in various words from civilian slang or trade jargon, such as *grease monkey*, *pearl-diver*, *slipping the clutch*. We get others from our allies—*brass hats* and *slacks* from the British, *barrage* and *liaison* from the French, and even some, like *blitz*, from the enemy. And after the war, the demobilized soldiers take back into civil life many terms such as *bail out*, *cowboy*, and *dead soldier*. The greater number of the items in *Army Talk*, however, have sprung directly from the conditions of garrison and field service and would not apply to any life but that of the Army.

In his preface, Colonel Colby states several conclusions: that soldier speech tends to abbreviations, is highly specialized and technical, and strongly resists change; and that military slang is generally uncomplimentary and unsentimental. From a much briefer experience than the author's, I should add that the soldier in his slang is humorously deprecatory of himself as well as his fellows, his superiors, and his way of

1. *Army Talk: A Familiar Dictionary of Soldier Speech*. By Elbridge Colby. Princeton: Princeton University Press, [1942]. xiv, 232 pp.

life. He also uses a great many profane and obscene expressions, which Colonel Colby naturally omits from a popular work of this kind. Furthermore, strictly military slang, as distinguished from abbreviations and official or technical terms, is rather limited in vocabulary. Although 'new terms and terms not in general use' are segregated in the appendix of this book, some of those in the main text are equally rare, I believe, in the new Army as a whole: for example, *artillery bull*, *barracks 13*, *Company* (or *Battery*) *Q*, *bull ring*, *footslogger*, *gumshoes*, *Kay O*, *meatball*,² *roll-over*,² *stars and stripes*, and *yearling*.

On a few other minor points there is room for disagreement with the author. *Maggie's* (not *Aunt Maggie's*) *drawers* is not confined to the Air Corps, and is probably commoner than *artillery bull* for a target miss; *civvies* rather than *cits* is the usual term for civilian clothes; *prisoner chaser* is less common than *chasing prisoners*; *draftee* is not much 'frowned upon,'³ and is heard more than *selectee*; *go-to-hell cap* is now more often applied to the roundbrimmed cotton 'field hat' than to the 'overseas cap'; and *P.F.C.* is widely used orally as well as in writing. Additional meanings or phrases could be given under *blues*, *buck* (e.g., *buck sergeant*), *bucking for*, *Mae Wests*, *salvage*, and *sound off*. Articles might be added on *acting gadget*, *activated* (a technical term, but fairly common in shop-talk), *bar-happy* (or *stripe-happy*), *by the numbers*, *C.Q.*, *goon squad*, *ninety-day wonder*, *on the double*, and *short-arm inspection*. Some terms and abbreviations are explained under headings where they might not be easily found (e.g., *M.P.* under *police*); a better system of cross-reference would have eliminated this defect.

These criticisms, however, are not meant to becloud the fact that *Army Talk* is almost certainly the most thorough and accurate survey of the subject that has yet appeared. Besides this, it is very well written; Colonel Colby has enlivened his material with interesting anecdotes (see under *court-martial*, for example), jokes, songs, and parodies. Extra attractions are the musical notations of the most familiar bugle calls, and the simple but witty illustrations by Richard Hurd. Both as a soldier and as a student of language, I can recommend this book without hesitation.

PVT. DOUGLAS E. WILSON

Bolling Field, D.C.

2. Among regulars, before the three-year term of enlistment was cancelled by the war, the expression I heard most often in this connection was "Fifteen (or whatever the number) days and a *breakfast*."—D.E.W.

3. *Army Talk*, p. 219. But officers, I understand, are instructed not to use this term.

'THE PLAYS OF HENRY C. DE MILLE'

HAD the standard of editorial excellence maintained in this volume¹ been held consistently throughout the *America's Lost Plays* series, this set of books would have been a notable addition to American scholarship. After some of the painful results of a merely mechanical interpretation of textual accuracy in earlier volumes, it is a pleasure to read Mr. Ball's sensible observation:

There can be in a strict sense no *standard* text of the plays of Henry C. De Mille. All manuscript copies show variations; one is not necessarily more *correct* than another. . . . The editor's problem therefore is not to find the only satisfactory text, but a satisfactory text—one among others of which the authors would approve—then to correct obvious technical and typographical errors, and see that nothing essential to the play is omitted, nothing plainly extraneous added.

Working in this excellent way, he has produced an admirable edition of five plays, *The Main Line* (1886), *The Wife* (1887), *Lord Chumley* (1888), *The Charity Ball* (1889) and *Men and Women* (1890).

Mr. Ball's prefatory remarks also show how plays are written, or rather re-written, in the actual theater, a practice which further illuminates the kind of editorial judgment required for the printing of play manuscripts. The actual writing was done by De Mille, most of the planning and dramatic construction by Belasco. The two men went to the empty theater; De Mille sat at a table in the front row of the orchestra and Belasco, on the stage, impersonated all the characters and situations. Such dialog as had been written down was a mere sketch. 'The dialogue which emerged in final form sprang less from the preliminary speeches than from the situations in action; the determining factor was stage effectiveness.' When it is remembered that in the course of every production any play has to be cut or altered to meet special requirements of acting, scenery, the theater, the audience or the occasion, the truth is brought home that a play text has been throughout dramatic history a fluid form.

The five comedy melodramas in this volume were all tailored in the first instance for the Frohman stock company, and after that, reshaped for stock companies outside of New York. They represent the golden day of American stock. *The Main Line* is more 'corny' than any of the others, but in at least three of these plays, *The Wife*, *The Charity Ball*, and *Men and Women* one can see an attempt to fuse the problem play with the formulae of stock. Type casting (as in the eighteenth century theater)

1. *The Plays of Henry C. De Mille written in collaboration with David Belasco*. Edited with an introductory essay by Robert Hamilton Ball. (*America's Lost Plays*. Vol. 17.) Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1941. xxv, 342 pp.

is obvious but, as in earlier eras of theatrical history, type casting also permitted the creation of character parts that were eminently actable. The absence of wit in plays which in their comic scenes laid innumerable audiences in the aisles is an indication that effective stage humor is three parts acting to one part dialog.

The student of American theatrical language will find in the De Mille dramas an admirable opportunity to study what passed for realism in the stock-company play at the turn of the last century. Lavish stage directions also permit him to increase his technical vocabulary. There are also valuable bits in the dialog. The fake westernisms of *The Main Line*, which is both a 'railroad' play and a play of the great West, include: 'as chipper as when she kited 'round barefoot' (4); 'sparkle and general skintellation' (4); 'ain't a man on the section can hold a pack o' cards agin' her' (5); 'whyn't you' (in the sense of 'why don't you have?') (8); 'Oh, crumbs!' (11); 'I can break a sleeper or handle a switch any time' (16); 'switch is off' (45). Colloquialisms in *The Wife* are: 'This lay's way over the life buoy' (65); and 'I'm wise' (77); and the stage Britishism of *Lord Chumley* produces 'you rumpussed with the rest o' them' (135); 'rue' for roué (135); 'h'outrageous teachy' (touchy) (135); 'muchativeness' (162); 'hippodrum' (delirium tremens?) (164); 'barbricks' for barbarians (171); 'willagers a-gondoolin' on the lake' (183); and 'fire-technics' for pyrotechnics (187). In *The Charity Ball* the reader will learn that the Horse Shoe curve is up the Hudson (210) and from *Men and Women* he will discover that the manufacture of Moxie was a sufficiently familiar fact to establish a stage gag in 1890 (290-291). Finally, although it has nothing to do with either theatrical technique or linguistic science, the gaiety of nations is innocently enriched by the conclusion of the opening stage direction for Act II of *Men and Women*, which runs in part: 'But little furniture must be used, the room presenting a picture of simplicity combined with the charm of oriental splendor' (295). Shades of the Moorish alcove and the globe of colored glass on the gas-jet in the middle of the ceiling!

HOWARD MUMFORD JONES

Harvard University

'HEADLINES AND DEADLINES'

THE AUTHORS of *Headlines and Deadlines*,¹ members of the faculty of the Graduate School of Journalism at Columbia University, and of

1. *Headlines and Deadlines*. By Robert E. Garst and Theodore M. Bernstein. Second edition. New York: Columbia University Press, 1940. xi, 217 pp.

the editorial staff of the *New York Times*, have set out 'to explain the technique of copy editing,' but in fact the book goes far beyond its expressed aim. A detailed explanation of the organization of a newspaper, with particular reference to the editorial room, is followed by a discussion of the place of the copy editor within this organization. Since his work falls naturally into the two divisions of editing copy and writing headlines, the greater portion of the book is devoted to specific instructions for these tasks.

As a manual for journalists, the volume is valuable for its insistence that editing of copy is fundamentally more important, albeit less dramatic, than headline writing, and because it effectively disposes of the common misconception that the first sentence in any news story must contain the answers to the questions who or what, where, when, and why or how. The brief history of headlines is of interest to the general reader as well as to the student or practising journalist.

It is scarcely within the province of this reviewer to criticize those portions of the work which treat the technicalities of journalistic practice. However, in dealing with the practices of copy editing, the authors naturally find it necessary to lay down grammatical rules and also occasionally to venture into the field of linguistic theory. At this point, the student of language is entitled to ask: Are the rules which are cited accurate reflections of current journalistic practice? Do they present fairly the state of the English language at the present time? Are the incursions into grammatical theory consistent with the best of modern linguistic scholarship?

One could forgive, possibly, the frequent implication that whatever is colloquial is necessarily bad English and should therefore be avoided in newspaper writing, if a larger number of the specific judgments were more accurate. But when the reader is told that *gotten* is falling into disuse in this country, that *appreciate* is to be limited to the single meaning 'to put the proper construction on,' and that verbal *loan* is undesirable even when used in a technical financial sense, he naturally approaches the remaining linguistic judgments with diminished faith.

Passing to larger issues, we find that the authors' feeling against functional change leads them to discourage the conversion of nouns into verbs, and to set up a series of restrictions governing the employment of noun adjuncts. The prohibition of the so-called 'false' passive construction strangely reappears here after having been dropped even by the freshman handbooks. Another curious phenomenon is to be found in a section on punctuation illustrating the use of commas to set off non-restrictive elements, where the relative *who* is assiduously used throughout to the

complete exclusion of *that*. Can it be that the authors are here carrying on the prejudice of their celebrated forerunner, Richard Steele, so plaintively set forth in his *Humble Petition of 'Who' and 'Which'?*

Some of the grammatical rationalization in respect to the headline is also open to question. Does a post-substantive adjective (TROOPS VICTORIOUS) necessarily imply a verb? Will the distinction between the modern headline, which 'makes a statement,' and the earlier caption, which merely 'calls names,' based upon the presence or absence of a verb, stand the test of rigorous analysis? According to the authors, verbal nouns are in the name-calling class, but is this really true? Equally dubious is the reasoning which approves the headline JONES DECLARES COUNTRY SOUND on the ground that *declares* here has the meaning of *pronounces* or *terms* rather than of *says* or *asserts*.

One does not expect virtuosity in grammatical dialectic from practicing journalists. The pity is, however, that newspapers do constitute a large portion of the reading experience of the average person, and as Thomas A. Knott pointed out in this journal some years ago, their language assumes an ever increasing importance. Newspaper English does possess some features peculiar to itself; these deserve careful analysis and realistic presentation. Moreover, the grammar of headlines is a fascinating subject, worthy of the most stringent approach which linguistic science affords. One could well expect, in a volume of this nature, something more profound than outdated grammatical rationalization and the caution that a preposition and its object or a noun and its modifier must appear in the same line, practices which, as a glance at almost any newspaper will demonstrate, are more honored in the breach than in the observance.

ALBERT H. MARCKWARDT

University of Michigan

MISSISSIPPI VALLEY FRENCH

THIS IS AN IMPORTANT contribution¹ in a field that has scarcely been touched and which offers great opportunities to future investigators, for all over the territory that was New France and Louisiana there are still survivals and vestiges of the French occupation of the country. The present volume limits itself to the almost two centuries of French exploration and settlement preceding 1850 and is consequently based on bookish

1. *A Glossary of Mississippi Valley French*. By John Francis McDermott. Washington University Studies, New Series, Language and Literature, No. 12. St. Louis, 1941.

sources. The matter awaiting exploitation is still living and should be utilized before it is too late.

The book is very well documented, a large number of travel accounts, explorers' reports, etc., having been utilized to find unusual words or uses of words in the Valley. These have been checked with present day survivals in various parts of the region as found in more modern word compilations or language studies of certain districts. The work is painstakingly done and records a number of interesting philological phenomena.

Because of the necessity of extending the existing vocabulary or of adding new words to it to indicate new things or doings that formed a part of the new life, new meanings were added to old words or borrowings made, principally from the Indian languages. The definitions which those two phenomena require present a mass of interesting data on the daily life and practices and the folklore of the region. Thus, existing names of plants and animals were given to new species unknown in the old world or new ones were invented for them, such as *frappe d'abord* for the pesky insect which, unlike the mosquito, sings after it strikes, and *brûlot* for the one, the pain of whose bite is particularly intense.

Contact with the Indians naturally furnished a large number of new terms to describe their customs, costumes, food, etc. The Indian language also provides the names of plants and trees, such as *plaquemine*, *pacane*, and others which remain to this day, or of animals such as *ouaouaron*, also a permanent acquisition of midwestern French.

The presence of Negroes in the southern part of the territory was likewise responsible for the addition of a number of words. Their status as slave or non-slave, or different degrees of mixed blood gave rise to terms to differentiate them from one another. *Gombo* has passed into English as *gumbo* to indicate both the Negro French dialect and the Creole national dish. The Spanish in the region enriched the vocabulary by supplying words from Spanish itself, such as *cabresse* (*cabestro*) for a halter, or by serving as a means of conveyance for words from distant Indian tribes, such as *patate* from Haitian *batate* or *pirogue* (*piragua*) from the Carib language. There were, too, borrowings from the English, notably *carencro* from *carrion crow*, a buzzard, which has entirely displaced the original word in Mississippi Valley French.

The most important source of new contributions to the French of the region was Canada, since the greater part of the new inhabitants came from there and, naturally, brought their habits of speech with them. This was the great epic period of French Canadian explorations, when even

places as far off as Mobile and New Orleans were founded by explorers and settlers from Canada. These explorations, together with the fur trade, gave rise to a number of technical terms for the trade itself as well as others for physical features of the landscape which were encountered, such as *bayou*, *sault*, *chute*, *dalle*, etc. Hunting terms, terms for new foods and ways of preparing them were invented by these hardy *voyageurs* and *coureurs des bois*. The book gives a fascinating, well-documented account of the effect of all these influences on the French of the region.

JAY K. DITCHY

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TEACHING ENGLISH SUFFIXES

‘CORRECT responses to suffixes is not a luxury in the comprehension and use of English, but a necessity.’ This statement is the theme of Professor Thorndike’s most recent contribution to the study of language.¹ His book is the product of some years of observation and collection of data, including materials from a semantic count subsidized by the Rockefeller Foundation. The major portion of the book is devoted to the presentation of tabular data and their interpretation, briefly prefaced by a criticism of the presentation of suffixes in dictionaries and followed by a chapter of conclusions on the teaching of suffixes, both to those who speak English as a native tongue and to foreigners.

Dictionaries deal with suffixes too indiscriminately, Dr. Thorndike says in the introduction; their treatment fails to differentiate between suffixes which have nearly as many meanings as they have occurrences and suffixes whose meaning is relatively unambiguous. Dictionaries tend to oversimplify the meanings of suffixes, or else to treat them with pedantic thoroughness without regard for the relative importance of each meaning.

Section 2 of the book, therefore, defines the scope of the study in raising the following questions regarding suffixes: (1) How many words of each degree of frequency are made by the suffix? (2) What meanings does the suffix have, and what is the frequency of each? (3) How easy is it to see that the words are composed of the suffix plus some word or part of a word, or word modified somewhat? (4) How easy is it to infer what the word means from knowledge that it equals X plus the suffix and that X means so and so? Illustrations of the procedures followed in dealing with these questions pave the way for Section 3, ‘Facts and Recommendations,’

1. *The Teaching of English Suffixes*. By E. L. Thorndike. Teachers College, Columbia University. Contributions to Education, No. 847. New York, 1941. 81 pp.

which consists of the tabular presentation of the analysis of each of the ninety suffixes, with comments. The recommendations vary from terse statements, such as 'High school pupils may be taught that *-cide* means something relating to killing,' to more elaborate discussions, such as 'the suffix *-ess* is unambiguous to the extent that a word formed by it means a female person or animal, but not to the extent that these follow one pattern for its meaning. A pythoness is not a female python, but special kind of priestess of Apollo; a mistress is many things besides a female master or mister; a countess in England should be called an earless; etc. There is a wide variation in the change of form when *-ess* is added. . . .'

Section 4, 'General Conclusions,' discusses school practice in the teaching of suffixes, compares the incidental with the planned teaching of suffixes, and concludes that a reasonable amount of deliberate and systematic teaching of suffixes will be a valuable part of the language curriculum. The book closes with notes on the teaching of suffixes to foreigners learning English.

It is useful to a reviewer to be able to place a new book in a certain category, and to deal with it as representative or distinctive in its group. *The Teaching of English Suffixes* is difficult to place. To a considerable degree it is the report of objective research, and its appearance leads to such a classification. But closer study reveals a rather peculiar mingling of purely objective figures and highly subjective estimates placed side by side in the tables. No one can question the careful analysis of meaning nor the frequencies of occurrences—these are matters of reliable count. But the 'analysis score' and the 'inference score' [see questions (3) and (4) above] are the guesses of Dr. Thorndike and his associates, estimates arrived at by a process described in such terms as these: 'Consider all pupils in grade 10. Think what per cent of them will recognize the suffix . . .'. The guesses are interesting, but it seems unwise to express them numerically in parallel columns with the results of objective investigation.

But the book is addressed to teachers. The comments and observations to teachers throughout the material are pungent and illuminating, and have great pedagogical value. My fear is that this material will be lost in the maze of tables which surrounds it. The average teacher will not, perhaps cannot, read this book. Consequently there will have to be an intermediary between Dr. Thorndike and the class-room teacher before his findings can be reflected in the teaching of suffixes. It may be that the dictionary editor, the curriculum counsellor, and the textbook writer will gradually perform this service.

These criticisms are aimed at the use of the book rather than at its

worth. This book makes known much that was not known before regarding the use of suffixes in English. As a practising teacher I am concerned that this knowledge become general. I would like to recommend a series of articles in this and other journals reaching teachers, which would expand, interpret, and illustrate the compact findings of this book.

At least twice the book reveals a touch of human frailty. The scientist becomes critic on page 16, where after objecting to *abdication*, *abolition*, etc., and preferring *abdicating*, *abolishing*, etc., he says, 'In my opinion they (the latter forms) would be better for all of us to use.' Then, too, there is an odd inconsistency in the treatment of the suffix *-meal*. On page 2 we read: 'These books treat suffixes which have nearly as many different meanings as they have occurrences (such as *-dom*, *-esque*, and *-meal*) much the same as suffixes which occur very frequently and are relatively unambiguous.' On page 16 we read: 'Except for certain suffixes devised by mathematical and natural sciences for their special purposes, the only unambiguous suffix is *-meal*. In the two words where it is in current use, *piecemeal* and *inchmeal*, this suffix may (with some strain) be treated as always meaning X by X.'

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THE POETRY OF GUILLÉN

IT IS ENCOURAGING to note a promising new adventure in literary scholarship and interpretation begun during the present year. *The Poetry of Jorge Guillén*¹ has not only substantial interest in itself but is announced on behalf of the Princeton University Press as 'the first book in a new program dealing with Spanish literary subjects.' The beginning is auspicious. The international spirit of poetry, and especially of modern poetry, clearly appears in its pages. If for Gongora one reads John Donne and for Guillén, Emily Dickinson, sentences and even paragraphs will still remain sound criticism.

From the standpoint of English language and literature the volume has two points of special interest, as shown in turn by the verse and prose. Miss Pleak's translations are in many cases so uncommonly skilful that all thought of them as translations is easily banished. The Spanish is more brilliant but can hardly be more natural. Interestingly enough, in the section dealing with Guillén's style the translator seems to have felt the

1. *The Poetry of Jorge Guillén*. By Frances Avery Pleak. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1942. 114 pp.

inspiring impetus of her subject upon her own style as a poet, for such lyrics as *Salvation of Spring and Season*, quoted here, are, even in English, of startling beauty and are couched in the most unaffected language and in the sparse manner of the best metaphysical verse written today. Miss Pleak is not only to be congratulated for a timely study of an important Spanish poet now living in America; she proves that she is herself a poet of considerable gifts and thoroughly sensitive to the finest contemporary idiom in lyric verse.

The methods and conclusions of her critical essay impress this reviewer as being, on the whole, sound. Especially when discussing any concrete phenomena in style, she can be equally simple and illuminating. But there are, regrettably, some sentences and paragraphs written in a language all too well known and yet doubtfully English; nor will it do to fancy them as translated into more eloquent Spanish or French. When dealing with the more philosophical or aesthetic ideas suggested by her subject, the author writes the unpalatable jargon of the modern literary salon—Plato debauched by Valéry—which is too commonly condoned. A vague metaphysical language serves only to dilate the importance of poet, critic and reader with airy and arrogant bombast. ‘Ultimate significance,’ ‘ultimate unity,’ ‘reality,’ ‘eternity,’ ‘essence,’ ‘perfection,’ and the ‘immaculate’ conception of poetry attack the reader continuously, especially throughout the first half of the book. Humor seems unknown. One despairs of definite meaning and longs for a little simplicity again. The shell of a nautilus can be spun to no more elaborate and pearly thinness. Miss Pleak quite needlessly takes her place among the convoy of nautili that on airy and ambitious wing has floated across hard American ground from Louisiana to Ohio and from Ohio to New Jersey. Here is a style most nearly resembling baroque seventeenth-century costumes worn by court ladies bowing in flattery to one another. We are told that ‘Guillén’s poetry is a poetry for the elect, the initiated.’ Even so. Here is a typical sentence, which surely is not American speech. ‘Visual pattern is not enough; in Guillén there is not a passive receptivity of nature but a retroactive faculty of effort and tension and fusion of resultants to the elimination of the external content of perception—the decomposition of ordinary reality to a new reality.’ Translated into American, this means, I suppose, that Guillén has imagination. If platitude were the worst that can be hidden beneath verbiage, the fault would not be as grave as it is. But it is almost impossible to think clearly and to write with such verbosity.

We should be truly grateful for Miss Pleak’s just and thoughtful praise of Guillén throughout the better half of her book. But one wishes that

she would consistently practice in her prose the economy and simple truthfulness which she practices so beautifully in all her translations.

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MANUSCRIPT GLOSSARIES OF THE AMERICAN VERNACULAR

IT IS SOMEWHAT unusual to review a work in manuscript, but in this instance, because of rules governing the work of prisoners in the Virginia State Prison, publication may be delayed indefinitely. Meanwhile, scholars and creative writers may like to know that this collection¹ exists.

Criminals have a lively interest in their own language; hence it is not unusual for individuals both in and out of prison to compile argot glossaries, most of which have little value because of their cursory and superficial nature. It is rare indeed to find criminals approaching their own argots with the thoroughness, the care, and the patience shown by Messrs. Blackwell and Sanders.

In describing and evaluating this collection, we must remember that these men have no formal training, and that only through the courtesy of prison officials and friends outside have they obtained limited and difficult access to printed material. Furthermore, there is no such thing as 'complete' coverage of so vast and mercurial a vernacular; they are proceeding as amateurs, though not without considerable sagacity and good judgment.

Words of the Rackets comprises four volumes listing the argot used by persons outside the law, borderline characters, and prisoners. As we might suspect, since both men have a superb knowledge of the *heavy-rackets*, the argot of the gentry in this field is covered very adequately; even so, as I turned the pages of their work with only the argot of the safe-blower in mind, I noticed that quite a few technical terms indigenous to the safe-cracker's racket were missing, as well as others not so technical but appertaining to the racket. Once we leave the domain of crimes of violence the omissions are more extensive. Few words from the rich vocabulary of the confidence rackets are listed. Almost none of the forger's and counterfeiter's argot appears. The argot of the criminal homosexual is largely restricted to that used in prisons. Some gambling terms appear, but that colorful argot is by no means fully exploited, nor is that of the numbers

1. *Words of the Racket*, 4 vols. ms., 452 pp. (7,638 entries); *Words of Trampdom*, 1 vol. ms., 120 pp. (1,377 entries); *Slang of Spangleland*, 1 vol. ms., 106 pp. (2,033 entries); *Cant of the Crafts*, 1 vol. ms., 86 pp. (1,648 entries); *Words of the Fighting Forces*, 1 vol. ms., 97 pp (1,707 entries). By Joseph Blackwell, Jr., and Clinton Sanders.

racketeer, the circus grifter, or the racetrack tout. Thieves and pickpockets are fairly well represented, as are burglars and house-prowlers. The speech of criminal narcotic addicts is rather fully (and very well) treated. There is a generous quantity of prison argot, but little attempt to register varying usage from one institution to another; likewise, though the authors are well aware of geographical variations in argot, there is no discussion of these phenomena in the manuscript, nor are regional variants given. Place names receive little consideration, monickers none. There is no attempt to analyse the various types of argot or to delineate the various systems of argot formation. Occasional samples of so-called 'pig-Latin' are included, but there is no discussion of the function of this type of speech (along with several variant systems) or of the conditions under which it is used. While occasional examples of the amusing 'Australian' rhyming argot crop up, nothing like adequate space is given it. No attempt is made to include British usage. There is a tremendous amount of colorful material from the fringe of the underworld. However, in the opinion of this reviewer, perhaps as much as 20 per cent of the total content should not be classed as words of the rackets; of course, the line between argot and non-argot material is often a fine one and the lexicographer may be hard put to it to decide which words to include and which to reject.

The authors apparently do not employ strictly objective methods in selecting and defining their material; too often they reject the test of usage, depending rather upon their own wide knowledge of the argot in erecting a sort of arbitrary, authoritarian standard, and composing many of their illustrations *after* the term has been defined, which is hardly in line with modern practise; nevertheless, one is struck with the patness of their illustrations as well as the accuracy of their definitions, although the latter may be a bit brief for the uninitiated.

Both authors differ with this reviewer on the question of specialization in criminal argots; they hold that most argot is generalized and that few rackets retain any specialized argot of their own, while the experience of the reviewer is that, in spite of an obvious tendency toward generalization, there is ample evidence of considerable specialized terminology in most rackets. The work of Blackwell and Sanders reflects their adherence to the former principle; for instance, we find listed only those confidence-terms used by the underworld in general; conspicuously absent are those closely indigenous to the con-rackets; the same defect is noted with regard to other more or less specialized groups whose argot the authors have, during the course of a long and lively correspondence, tended to regard as apochryphal. In short, they accept the generalized argot, but are critical

of the finer shades of meaning, cognizance of which is often the earmark of the professional.

The Slang of Spangleland is a competent survey of the lingo of the circus and carnival, vaudeville, radio, and the legitimate stage. Here much of the material is second-hand, but appears to be handled quite effectively. Again, however, the general lingo receives the most attention, while the circus grifter, for example, is not recognized as a separate entity with an argot of his own. *Words of Trampdom* includes a glossary of the lingo of the tramp and the hobo, part of the material being second-hand and part acquired first-hand through life on the road. *Cant of the Crafts* is really a collection of technical lingo relating to lumbering, mining, newspaper work, the oil-fields and the railroads, while *Words of the Fighting Forces* presents a generous glossary of army-terms, largely of the vintage of World War I.

In spite of its weaknesses, this work is a valuable storehouse of material for the creative writer, the criminologist, the movie scenarist, and the student of language. Hollywood would do well to ponder its pages carefully. The editors are now at work enlarging and improving the present version and highlighting it with considerable historical material. Under its new title, *Words of America*, it will contain some 100,000 entries from all branches of the American vernacular. Eventually it will constitute a standard reference work in this field.

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AMONG THE NEW WORDS

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OF THE words on which information was requested in the April, 1942, instalment of ANW, the following have appeared in the new *American Thesaurus of Slang* with as much information as could have been given here, and are hence not treated below: *on the cuff*, *gun*, *horse-feathers*, and *jeepers*. The department is still eager, however, for examples of *jeepers* from about 1933 and before.

Bombardier (see below) is an interesting adaptation of an obsolete word to modern warfare; it also points to the shift in meaning of *bomb*, now something dropped but once synonymous with *shell*.

Professor Maurer of the University of Louisville states that *call-house* (see below) 'is hardly a new word, since it is at least as old as the telephone and the type of brothel of course much older; I strongly suspect that the word goes back to England.' He also reveals that *bar-fly* has come up a notch in the world, apparently having once carried the connotation of one addicted to bumming free drinks (another recent citation: 'Chick was never a bar-fly, but Old Overholt used to be able to depend on him to take a pint a week,' *Writer's Forum*, May 1942, 3/3). And he gives a 1931 reference to *curtains* in his own Dec. 1931 article in *American Speech*, 'Argot of the Underworld,' p. 103.

-dollar word, *et al.*, has been spreading of late to other expressions (see below). Professor Hard of Newcomb College writes that of twenty persons whom he queried, all but one regarded *-dollar* in these combinations to have begun with radio use in spelling and other quiz programs; and that one Chicagoan remembered *five-dollar word* from his school days. Professor Marckwardt of the University of Michigan also favors *five-* or *ten-dollar* as the original form, *five* being preferred by more than half of thirty people whom he queried.

Mr. Julius Rothenberg comments that *droop* may have antecedents in the expressions 'droopy guy' and 'droopy drawers.' Certainly there is incidental support for *drip* in the consonance of the two words, as there also appears to be for *flak* in the older *flack* ('a blow, slap, or stroke particularly with something loose and pliant,' OED, 1825) and in related *fl-* and *-ck* words (*slack*, *flip*, *fling*, etc.).

The data offered for *lug* are not given as final. There are cant senses (e.g. that of *American Speech*, Apr. 1940, p. 119/2, or 'shill,' given by Partridge, or taking *lug* as equivalent to *screw* in 'putting the screws on')

which may be the answer to its origin, wholly or in part. The older sense of 'pull,' however, seemed most promising. The term in its political use has not come to my attention from outside the Kansas City area, where it has long been used of the Pendergast machine.

Besides the persons mentioned above, the following others have supplied material used here: Professor N. E. Saxe and Miss Doris Allison of Washburn Municipal University; Mr. Charles V. Stansell of the *Kansas City Star*; and Professor R. M. Duncan of the University of New Mexico.

Please comment: *Anchor*, a key position for a military operation, 1 July 1940. *Chutist*, abbr. of *parachutist*, 11 Dec. 1941. *Firepower*, force of fire-arms, Apr. 1942. *Full-dress*, in military and other extensions besides 'full-dress debate,' 24 Jan. 1942. *Futurama*, in fig. uses not connected with World's Fair, Feb. 1942. *Hooverville*, a shanty-town, 24 May 1933. *In-fanticipate* (or *anticipate* used of expectancy) outside Winchell's column, Autumn 1941; or early instances in the column. *Job*, any large powered machine, Jan. 1938. *Juicer*, a juice-extractor, 1938. *Know-how*, a specific skill in a complicated operation, 13 Apr. 1942. *Lend-lease*, *v. tr.*, June 1941 (or *lease-lend*). *Longtime*, recent attrib. uses not in *Time*.

SYMBOLS: The symbol + before a word or definition indicates an Americanism. A date immediately following a word or definition indicates the time of evidence shown in the DAE, or, if so stated, in another publication. Dates in brackets indicate the time, etc., of British usage. An asterisk after a word indicates that the word is illustrated in British usage before 1600.

+AMERICA FIRSTER. A member of the America First Committee.—1941 *Time* (Air Exp. Ed.) 22 Sep. 23/2 It exploits all the emotions aroused in the U.S. by the war—even to political gags at which America Firsters clap. 1942 *New Republic* 5 Jan. 7/2 America Firsters and the numerous American-fascist outfits.

+BACKSTAGE, *adv.* 1934 (W.). +*fig. and attrib.* Under cover, not claiming attention.—1940 Pearson and Allen in *Topeka Journal* 4 May 4/4 Berle . . . does a lot of backstage speech writing and economic research for Roosevelt. *Ibid.* 11 May 4/3 There are several backstage factors which have not been discussed. 1942 *Reader's Digest* Jan. 50/2 The cashier feeds her tape into automatic machinery [at a new supermarket] that uses the punched holes to activate sorting apparatus backstage.

BELT. A means for conveying power.

[1795-] +A moving assembly line.—1937 Upton Sinclair *Flivver King* 98/2 I'd rather take my chance on the belt. 1938 *Reader's Digest* Jan. 123/2 Automobiles leaving the belt as finished products.

+BLITZ-BUGGY.—1941 *Time* (Air Exp. Ed.) 22 Sep. 20/3 Around the great River Rouge plant, newsmen spotted Army Blitz-buggies everywhere. 1942 *Kansas City Star* 11 Jan. 10A/1 'Blitz buggies,' the highly-maneuverable little 40-inch-high vehicles which Ford and other manufacturers already are producing.

BOMBARDIER*. One who bombs, esp. from aircraft.—1942 *Time* 2 Feb. 35/2 At 30,000 feet, flying 200 m.p.h., a bombardier at best has only about 60 seconds in which to locate his target. A. P. desp. in *Topeka Capital* 26 Feb. 1/4 American pilots and bombardiers fighting in the Netherlands Indies sank two large Japanese transports.

CALL. Used as the first element in combinations ref. to prostitution, esp. where telephone is used to make engagements: *call girl, call house, call woman*.—1940 *Detective Tales* Apr. 68 Call Girls Die Young. 1941 *Time* (Air Exp. Ed.) 15 Sep. 26/3 A crowd of sleepy-eyed 'town girls,' 'call girls,' 'party girls,' juke-joint dames and dance-hall hostesses. 1939 D. W. Maurer, 'Prostitutes and Criminal Argots,' in *American Journal of Sociology* Jan. 547 Or, if she is more fortunate, she may work in a 'call-house,' living to herself, but being constantly and exclusively available to one proprietor by telephone. 1940 *Detective Tales* Apr. 76/2 A photographer who photographs girls for call-house madams. *Inside Detective* Dec. 27/2 Her husband persuaded her to 'work the hotels' as a call woman to 'fill dates with men.'

+CLIPPER. A type of ship, 1823-. +A flying boat, 1939 (W.). +*v. tr.* To ship by Clipper plane.—1941 *Time* (Air Exp. Ed.) 8 Sep. 23/1 The first copy of his latest book was Clippered to TIME. *Ibid.* 29 Sep. 36/3 Manila doctors Clipper x-ray films to U.S. specialists. 1942 C.B.S. broadcast 30 June [The Japanese] even went to the length of Clippering a special envoy here. +*v. intr.* To go by Clipper plane.—1941 *Collier's* 20 Dec. 52/1 Wang and I clippered over [to Hawaii] to handle it ourselves. *Ibid.* 53/2 Wharton immediately clippered to San Francisco.

+CONTACT LENS.—1939 *Reader's Digest* May 65/1 Attached by suction to the eyeball itself, a paper-thin shell of glass or bakelite, its center a tiny lens made to optical prescription. These 'contact lenses' move with the eye. 1941 *ibid.* Dec. 83/2 The aged Kane [portrayed by Orson Welles] even has eyes veined and rheumy to match—delicately designed contact lenses, fitted to the eyeballs.

+CUFF, OFF THE. Informally, extemporaneously (*also attrib.*)—1941 *Time* (Air Exp. Ed.) 4 Aug. 1/1 Day before the freezing [of Japanese funds] order the President had explained why in the simplest vernacular. Talking off the cuff to a group of civilian-defense volunteers he made them a little homily. *Ibid.* 8 Sep. 4/2 A

powerful off-the-cuff orator. 1941 Walter Wanger film 'Foreign Correspondent,' at end: I'll have to tell it off the cuff [after bomb has destroyed lights and notes cannot be read]. 1942 *Time* 16 Feb. 84/1 Stevens learned his cinema technique on the roughhouse, two-reel comedy lots, where everyone from prop boy to producer had a hand in the story and no one knew how it was going to end. That is known as 'shooting off the cuff.'

+DIM-OUT, *n.* [For *dim down*, an analogy of *blackout*.] A lowering of lights as a protective measure in wartime.—1942 *Science News Letter* 21 Feb. 123/1 Modified blackouts or 'dimouts' for American cities were suggested by S. G. Hibben, electrical engineer . . . , at a military protective lighting symposium in New York. *New York Times* 3 May 2E/3 In New York City the dim-out recalled the 'lightless nights' caused by the coal shortage in 1917. *Time* 1 June 12/2 The Army clamped down harder on dim outs.

+DIM-OUT, *v. tr.* To dim as a protective measure in wartime.—1942 Green Hornet radio program 31 May The city was dimmed-out.

+DOLLAR. Common as the second element (preceded by a numeral) in combinations ref. to important or pretentious words; by extension, to other important things; by analogy, -cent in similar combinations: *two-, four-, five-, ten-, fifteen-dollar, seventy-five-cent, two-bit word; sixty-four-dollar question, -problem; five-dollar question*.—1940 Radio Guild play 18 May Two-dollar word. *American Freeman* Aug. 1/6 It doesn't need many pages of \$4 words to convince me this story is funny. Private conversation 28 Dec. Four-dollar word. *American Speech* Oct. 314 What not so many years ago were dubbed 'five dollar words' by the irreverent. 1942 *Life* 25 May 89 'Geopolitics' . . . This five-dollar term. 1940 University of Chicago Round Table broadcast 5 May Ten-dollar word. Pearson and Allen in *Topeka Capital* 21 Sep. 4/3-4 Claude Wickard . . . Avoids \$10 Words. 1942 *Time* 26 Jan. 17/1 Mr. Lewis is fond of \$15 words. *Ibid.* 58/3 Physicians use 75¢ words to describe minor ailments. *Pro-*

gressive 28 Mar. 9/1 Mundabullinganda (a 75 cent word meaning . . . 'end of the mountain country'). 1940 query at Univ. of Michigan 15-25 Nov. Two-bit word. 1942 *Time* 18 May 22/3 The Jap . . . could still sweat over the \$64 question: Where did they [the planes that raided Japan Apr. 18, 1942] come from and where did they go? Philip Morris Playhouse (in *The Man Who Came to Dinner*) 10 July That's the sixty-four-dollar problem. *It's Here* (Washburn Municipal Univ. anonymous publication) 2 Apr. 2/2 The five dollar question of the week is why in the h— does Jack Myers insist upon using that cigarette?

DROOP, *n.* [1647-] +A person disliked for his languidness.—1940 Etta Kett cartoon in *Topeka Journal* 23 Apr. 10 Don't be a droop. Chase and Sanborn program 26 May A room full of old droops. 1941 'Subdebese' in *Life* 27 Jan. 79 [a term used in San Antonio to denote a girl who fails to ask why in order to provide an opening for the point of a joke]. [New York schoolboy slang in] *American Speech* Oct. 190 *Drip, Droop, Schloomp*. A stupid, mopy person.

DUNKIRK. A defeat similar to that suffered by the British at Dunkirk, Belgium, June, 1940.—1941 *Time* 9 June 9/2 In far too many items we are still lagging behind and . . . there may well be more Dunkirks. 1942 *Reader's Digest* Jan. 5/1 We stand an excellent chance of suffering a series of terrible Dunkirks.

FLAK, FLACK.—1941 New York *Times* quoted by *Better English* Sep. 4/1 Ever since the active stage of the war started anti-aircraft fire ceased to be known as 'ackack.' It is always 'flak.' This actually is not slang for it is derived from the German 'fliegerabwehrkanone'—a gun to drive off aircraft. *Collier's* 20 Dec. 59/1 'Flak' is specifically the abbreviation of 'Fliegerabwehr Kanonen'—cannon warding off fliers. 1942 *Time* 9 Mar. 14/3 Rumors were as thick as flack. *Ibid.* 6 Apr. 23/1 She had sunk a Nazi flak ship . . . [footnote:] Small tug or trawler equipped with anti-aircraft guns.

FRONT*, *n.* [1350-, in military sense] 1. A political or other similar alli-

ance arraying diverse forces. 1939 (W.).—1927 Dorothy Sayers *Clouds of Witness* (N.Y., Pocket Books, 1940) 140 A thin, eager young woman . . . looking like a personification of the United Front of the 'Internationale.' 1937 *Harper's* 7 July 211/1 Sanctions had smashed the Stresa Front. 1939 Kansas City *Star* 28 Oct. 1/1 Asked Curran if the National Maritime union was a 'Communist-front organization.' 1941 *Common Sense* June 183/1 The political expression 'front' was borrowed from the armies.

2. An outwardly respectable agent serving as façade of a disreputable activity. 1939 (W.).—1939 *Topeka Capital* 1 Feb. 1/5 4259 gallons came to thirteen Shawnee County major bootleggers or their 'fronts.'

+3. [Probably combining senses 1 and 2.] An individual or group serving as real or nominal head or representative of an enterprise or movement (sense 1) to lend it prestige, concealment, etc. 1939 (W.).—1941 *Time* (Air Exp. Ed.) 26 May 31/1 With committees on which the Fairlesses, Graces and Girdlers are represented by themselves instead of by front men, Washington can deal more realistically. *Common Sense* July 196/1 The following organizations are the principal 'fronts' set up by totalitarian elements within the United States. . . . While strictly speaking the Coughlin-Reynolds-Dilling outfits are not 'fronts' (in the sense that a 'front' is deliberately set up by a political party controlled from abroad), they are included here. 1942 *Mexican Labor News* 29 May 3 Sinarchist Fuehrer-in-Chief Manuel Torres Bueno (really a front).

FRONT* *v. tr.* To serve as a front to (+in sense 3 of *n.*).—1941 *Common Sense* Mar. 88/1 Catholic clergymen are even more adamant in their refusal to 'front' committees. *v. intr.*—1939 *Nation* 5 Aug. 134/2 *America*, accusing us of 'fronting' for the Semites and Communists. . . . We are not 'fronting' for anybody. 1942 *Time* 27 Apr. 82 Mexico . . . has been fronting [in Latin America] for the U.S.

+GAS HOG. One who uses too much gasoline, esp. one who abuses gasoline-rationing privileges.—1942 *Topeka Capital*

16 May 7/2 The Office of Price Administration made things unpleasant for 'gas hogs' tonight. *Progressive* 6 June 4/1 Gas hogs provided with the proper cards can roll up to side street stations where they are unknown and buy what they like.

+HIT. To go at something vigorously. 1888 (OEDS.) +To indulge in, take to greedily.—1939 Private conversation, Bill is hitting cigarets some. 1942 *American Thesaurus of Slang* Hit the booze, hooch, bottle, grub, gow or hop.

HITLERISTIC. Pert. to or characteristic of Adolf Hitler.—1941 *Common Sense* Jan. 30/1 For the Hitleristic reason of grabbing everything in sight.

+JUCO. Junior College (abbr.)—1939 *Topeka Capital* 26 Aug. 11/2 Dodge City Juco Will Have Aviation Course. 1942 *Kansas City Star* 5 Jan. 10/2 El Dorado . . . appears . . . to be the top Juco basketball team in Kansas.

LUG*, *v. tr.* To give a pull to, +To make an exaction from (in sense of *n*).—1940 *Topeka Journal* 21 Mar. 3A/3 McGivern is charged with lugging the Avenue Shop . . . \$50 a month. 1942 *American Thesaurus of Slang* 370.3 [Lug:] Beg; Request for a Loan or Gift.

+LUG, *n.* An exaction, esp. in phrase 'to put the lug on,' to exact money for

political purposes.—1936 *Kansas City Star* 15 Oct. 6/1 Indiana Uses the 'Lug.' 1938 *Kansas City Times* 14 Feb. 1/6 The Democratic organization's lug on all city and county employees . . . for its campaign fund . . . has been started. 1940 *Topeka Capital* 27 Jan. 2/8 FRANCO REPEALS LUGS [prison sentences]. *Ibid.* 15 Feb. 4/2 Mayor Steps on Cops' Lug [plea for public subscription to get new uniforms]. *Ibid.* 8 Mar. 4/5 Putting Lug [pressure brought by advertisers to force change in policy] on Newspaper. *Topeka Journal* 26 Mar. 1/8 Shakedown in Topeka are known to have ranged from \$20 to \$50 monthly, depending on the amount of illegal business done by the individuals on whom the lug was put.

+NIACIN.—1942 *Cooperative Consumer* 28 Feb. 5/3 'Niacin' is the new name for 'nicotinic acid,' the ingredient of enriched bread which was first discovered as a potent preventive and cure for pellagra. The new name was found to be necessary because some anti-tobacco groups warned against using enriched bread because it would foster the cigaret habit. . . . Federal Security Administrator Paul McNutt, who has charge of making standards for enriching flour, approved the name.

NEW EVIDENCES ON AMERICANISMS

The purpose of this section is to display regularly new evidence on the American vocabulary before 1901. Quotations are solicited and should be sent to Woodford A. Heflin of the University of Chicago. The contributors for this issue are M. M. Mathews (1), Thomas Sebeok (2), Robert Wadsworth (3), and the editor.

SYMBOLS: + before a word or definition indicates an Americanism shown in the DAE; ++ indicates an Americanism not shown in the DAE. A date following a word or definition indicates the time of evidence shown in the DAE, or, if so stated, in previous issues of *American Speech*. A date in []'s indicates the time of British usage; an * after a word indicates that the word is illustrated as a word in British usage before 1600.

+BEAR-TRAP. 1825-. 1784 *Belknap Papers* II. 188 We saw . . . abundance of sable-traps, and one bear-trap.

BENCH*. +A natural terrace. 1811-. 1803 *Journals of Lewis and Ordway* 34 What is called the third bottom is more properly the high benches of the large range of hills.

++BUMBLEBEE WHISKEY. 1886 *Amer. Philol. Assoc.* XVII. 43 I tuck me a four finger dost ove bumblebee whiskey.

CAMPHOR. [1605-] 1729-. ++Spirits of camphor. 1851 A. Cary *Clover-nook* 192 A small bottle of camphor [was] Mrs. Claverell's infallible remedy for all disease. [This is quoted in DAE but not under this heading.]

+CHEWING GUM. 1864-. 1850 *Chicago Daily Democrat* 25 Oct. Chewing gum! A new and superior preparation of Spruce Gum. (3)

+CHIMNEY SWIFT. 1867-. 1849 Audubon *Western Journal* (1906) 129 I saw fifteen or twenty swifts, about double the size of our common chimney swift at home.

+CHOCOLATE CORN. 1856-. 1847 Darlington *Weeds & Plants* 412 The Sugar Plant . . . was introduced into Pennsylvania forty years ago under the name of 'Chocolate Corn'; and the seeds were roasted by the farmers' families, as a substitute for coffee.

++CLOSE HERDING. (See quotation.) —1880 *Cimarron News* 22 Jan. 2/1 Close herding. This system provides a sufficient number of men and horses to keep a given number of cattle within certain boundaries, and to keep an accurate account of them.

+CLOSE SHAVE. *fig.* A narrow escape. 1892-. 1834 C. A. Davis *Lett. J. Downing* 13 I did not so much as get my feet wet when the bridge fell, though it was close shave.

++COMANCHERO. A trader with the Comanches. 1844 Gregg *Commerce* II. 56 I left the caravan, accompanied by three Comancheros, and proceeded at a more rapid pace towards Santa Fe.

COMMON SCHOOL. 1795-. a 1656 Bradford *Hist. Pli. Plant.* 194 Indeed, we have no comone schoole for want of a fitt person.

++COMSTOCK. A rich mine, after the celebrated mine of Nevada. 1885 *Wkly. N. Mex. Rev.* 18 June 2/6 The Old Mine of Grant county is proving a genuine Comstock.

+CONGRESSMAN. 1780-. ++A delegate to Congress representing a territory. 1890 *Stock Grower* (Las Vegas, N. M.) 29 Mar. 3/2 Hon. A. Joseph, congressman from New Mexico, has presented a bill for statehood.

++CONQUISTADOR. [Sp.] *Spec.* One of the Spanish conquerors of New Mexico, esp. before 1680. 1852 *Blackwoods* LXXI. 448/1 The degenerate descendants of the Spanish Conquistadores. 1880 *Cimarron News* 28 Oct. 2/4 The Spanish Conquistadores . . . developed the mines through the labor of Pueblo Indians whom they worked as slaves. 1885 *Wkly. N. Mex. Rev.* 16 Apr. 4/1 [Reference only].

+CONSCIENCE WHIG. 1884. 1851 K. Quentin *Reisebilder* 102 Wenn sie mit der jungen Parthei der 'Conscience-Whigs' (den federalistisch gesinnten Freiboden-männern) sich zu einigen vermögen. (1)

+COONA. A New Mexican dance. 1846. 1847 *Santa Fe Repub.* 1 Oct. 2/3 Of all the most singular is the Coonie as practiced in New Mexico—all classes understand it and it is unlike any other dance. . . . beginning like a Country dance it changes to an Indian swing.

++CORDEL. [Sp.] A linear measure of about 138 feet. 1885 *Santa Fe Wkly. N. Mex.* 24 Sep. 1/2 Fifty Mexican varas make a measure which is called a cordel, an instrument used in measuring lands. *Ibid.* The legal league contains 100 cordels.

CORNISH ROLLER. *Mining.* In a stamp mill, a stamp that twists as it falls by gravitation. 1885 *Wkly. N. Mex. Rev.* 5 Feb. 2/6 The mill is of the ten-stamp pattern with five cornish rollers.

++CORRECTION LINE. *Surveying.* A parallel every six miles used as a new base line in laying out townships on government land. 1880 *Cimarron News* 27 May 3/3 Some very desirable country can be secured between the second and third correction lines in the eastern part of San Miguel County.

++COSTAL. [Sp. 'a bag.'] A dry measure of various sizes; a bagful. 1870 *Republican Review* (Albuquerque) 3 Dec. 4/1 Albuquerque Market Prices . . . Corn, per costal 1 25. 1872 *Ibid.* 6 Jan. 2/1 [Make] the costal a lawful measure; stating its length, width, and the kind of material it should be made of.

+COTTON WHIG. 1891-. 1851 K. Quentin *Reisebilder* 104 Seine letzte berühmte Rede in Faneuil-Hall hat ihn auch mit einem Theile der Hunkers, oder, wie sie von ihren Gegnern wohl genannt zu werden pflegen, den Cotton-Whigs entzweit. (1)

++COUNTER ACEQUIA. A lateral irrigation ditch. 1863 *Rio Abajo Press* (Albuquerque) 20 Jan. 4/1 Bounded . . . on the south 50 varas, . . . by a counter acequia.

+COVERED BRIDGE. 1883-. 1847 *Santa Fe Repub.* 23 Oct. 1/4 The cars had emerged from one of the long covered bridges [located in the eastern part of the country].

+COW CAMP. 1885-. 1880 *Cimarron News* 2 Sep. 3/2 Mr. Frank R. Sherwin . . . had to walk twelve miles and then borrow a horse at a cow camp.

+COW CHIPS. 1896-. 1881 Chase *Editor's Run* 206 The cow boys, out on the prairie, far away from timber, find convenient fuel in buffalo or cow chips.

+COW COUNTRY. 1886-. 1881 Chase *Editor's Run* 160 There is no excuse in a cow country like this for a landlord to set before his guests oleomargarine.

++COW HUNTER. One who hunts cows on a roundup. 1876 Whilldin *Descr. of Western Texas* 13 There is generally fifteen or twenty in one of these crowds of cow-hunters.

++COW RANCH. A cattle ranch. 1881 Chase *Editor's Run* 98 Extra help on a cow ranch is considered equal to one-fourth of one man's time. 1885 *Wkly. N. Mex. Rev.* 15 Jan. 2/5 El Paso, which was then known as Pongo's cow ranch.

+COYOTE. 1834-. Applied to a person. 1904-. 1872 Powers *Afoot and Alone* 277 Many slouching fellows make that pretense, while they are really squatters or 'coyotes.'

++CUTTING GATE. A gate used to help cut an animal from a herd. 1890 *Stock Grower* 25 Jan. 6/2 New cutting gates put in and new wings thrown out, so that now cattle with much less worry, can be loaded.

++DEAD OR ALIVE. Phrase indicating the condition under which a captured criminal is acceptable. 1880 *Cimarron News* 23 Dec. 2/5 Gov. Lew Wallace offers \$500 for the 'Kid' dead or alive.

++FIFTH QUARTER. The hide and entrails of a slaughtered animal. 1854 Busch *Wanderungen* I.372 'The fifth quarter,' d. h. Haut und Talg des Rindes. (2)

FIRST COMER. a 1861-. a 1656 Bradford *Hist. Pli. Plant.* 215 The first comers had none at all, but lived on their corne.

FIRST GRADE. +The beginning class in an elementary school. 1873-. 1835 *S. Lit. Messenger* I.275 In the first and second grades, boys and girls are schooled together.

MISCELLANY

LOUISE POUND

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STREET NAMES OF ALBUQUERQUE

The streets of Albuquerque, New Mexico, straggling across the mesa toward the Sandía Mountains, bear names suggestive of the blend of civilizations making up this city of the Southwest. Here are Spanish names from San Felipe de Alburquerque, the Old Town, left behind when the railroad lured citizens eastward from the original adobe village; here also are conventional street names, brought in by real estate promoters and unimaginative city planners, names which recur in towns throughout the nation; and last, as though evidence of nostalgia for a romantic past, are newer streets reviving the old Spanish and Indian names.

Among the names from the Old Town, no longer recorded on the Chamber of Commerce map, are Santiago, Ribas, and San Felipe, honoring, respectively, two pioneer residents and San Felipe de Neri, the old church which is still standing. On the outskirts of the present town are Duranes, Arenal, Pajarito-Atrisco, and Isleta, euphonious names reminiscent of the days before English was the language of New Mexico. Unfortunately other attractive Spanish names were sacrificed by an ordinance of 1911, and Mariano and Armijo became Marble Avenue; Acequia became John Street; Roselita, Roosevelt Avenue;

Jesús, part of Granite Avenue; and Carnuel, part of Mountain Road.

These prosaic modernizations fit admirably with the street names of 'Greater' Albuquerque: those honoring prominent citizens such as Bell, Cromwell, and Huning; the usual state names, Arizona, California, Massachusetts; the ambitious realtor's favorites, the overworked Grand, Broadway, and Inspiration; the names of presidents from Washington to Coolidge; personal names such as Mary, Helen, and John. Among these uninteresting names belonging to the period after 1900, those of the rocks and metals—Marble, Granite, Gold, and Silver—are at least native New Mexican; and more provocative are Apache Trail and Kit Carson Avenue, which look back to the territorial period of the state.

Expressive, perhaps, of the builders' longing for trees and cultivated vegetation in a bare, new land are Elm Street, Poplar Lane, Orchard Place, and Fruit Avenue. And other ambitions or memories are suggested in the neighborhood of the University where the street names should create a congenial atmosphere for the institution of higher learning. Here are Harvard, Yale, Columbia, Princeton, Vassar, Bryn Mawr, Wellesley, and even Eton and St. Cyr.

From these grotesque transplant-

ings of a few years back the recent turn to Spanish and Indian names is satisfying to lovers of the region. Sandía (watermelon) and Manzano (apple tree) drives are named for the neighboring mountains. Another of the more poetic newly adopted Spanish names is Solano (the wind which blows from where the sun was born). And the Spanish Aliso and Encino are somehow more musical than their English equivalents—alder tree and evergreen oak. Purely descriptive are Embudo (funnel), Llano (plain), and Cerro Vista (mountain view). An heroic past is revived in other names. Bold figures of the sixteenth century are called to mind in Escalante Avenue and Alvarado Drive, which honor two of the conquistadores, companions of Cortez and de Oñate. Coronado, Quivira, and Cíbola Avenues recall the story of the explorer and the objects of his search, and Villagrà Avenue pays respect to the poet-historian of Oñate's 1598 expedition. Later history of the region is commemorated in Valverde Avenue, named for the site of one of the two Civil War battles fought in New Mexico. Perhaps even more appealing than these Spanish names is another group in a section of the town as yet principally in projection. These come from the famous Indian pueblos of the state. That they should not have been used before is a little surprising, for they are symbols of one of the most characteristic aspects of the region: Acoma, Chimayo, Cochiti, Domingo, Jemez, Nambe, San Juan, Taos,

Tesuque, Zúñi—the monuments of a great civilization.

Thus in their mixture of old and new, of romantic and prosaic, the street names of Albuquerque summarize the history of the Southwest and the influences which contributed to its growth, as they evoke Indians, conquerors, missionaries, scouts, pioneers, and promoters in colorful procession.

KATHERINE SIMONS

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INDIAN SUMMER

Each autumn there is some public curiosity and speculation over the term 'Indian Summer,' leading to no very satisfactory conclusion as to its origin. It does not appear to be recorded before the latter part of the Eighteenth Century but it may very well be much older. In Europe, where the phenomenon is less striking than with us, it had long been known as St. Martin's Summer. Martinmas, 'When nights are long and mirk,' it may be convenient to remember, is Armistice Day.

The earliest settlers therefore came with the idea in their heads and a name for it. They could not help but be struck by the weather they found in their new home, and being Englishmen must have talked about it. If that was so, something other than a saint's name might well have seemed to them desirable.

To Englishmen, unlike other Europeans, the name St. Martin suggested something false, a sham or imitation, for the dealers in cheap jewelry were gathered in the parish

of St. Martin-le-Grand in London. (See NED under *Martin* 3.) Not to know St. Martin's stuff from true gold lace was to be ignorant indeed. Martin's sham gold rings and chains were proverbial, like the false fineries of St. Audrey. For English speaking folk, though clearly this was not the reason the name was given to it, the gentle hazy weather of late autumn was indeed a St. Martin's Summer, an imitation and a sham.

The first of our American forefathers, then, whoever he or quite possibly she was, that may have said "'Tis but an Indian kind of summer after all, as false and fickle as they,' was only following the early habit among them of characterizing by the term Indian whatever in the new world looked something like the real thing but was not. Indian corn is not wheat. An Indian barn is a hole in the ground. There were Indian beans, Indian cucumbers, Indian hemp, Indian paintbrushes, Indian pipes, Indian tea, Indian gifts and Indian givers, Indian this and Indian that (see DAE), and so most appropriately, by a happy and enduring stroke of creative language, Indian Summer.

If there were documents it would not be necessary to indulge in such fancies, but failing them imagination might yet hit on an answer that is substantially the right one.

HARRY MORGAN AYRES
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MELVILLE'S CONTRIBUTION TO ENGLISH

Several correspondents have suggested modifications or different in-

terpretations of certain words in my study of Melville's English (*PMLA*, LVI, 797-808) which I think are important enough to be called to the attention of those interested in American English.

Professor Donald W. Ferguson of Kenyon College points out that *albicore* occurs in the *NED* under *albacore*, and that *Malte Brun* undoubtedly refers to Conrad Malte-Brun the French geographer of the eighteenth century.

Professor David W. Maurer of the University of Louisville writes regarding the term *fancy-men*:

You note 'The meaning given in the *D.A.E.* "A man supported by a mistress . . ." does not fit Melville's use.' On the contrary, it fits very well. These 'fancy-men' are homosexuals, usually passive, of whom there are always several on any windjammer even in these days, who cater to the desires of the officers (and often the men) in return for money, special privileges, etc. M. here uses the word as a sort of humorous euphemism. Don't ask me which is the mistress and which the lover, or 'oo does whot to 'oo,' as a Newfoundland cabin-boy I once knew once asked a mate who had just confronted the lad with what to him was a bewildering situation, for I can't tell you. The sex-life of sailormen is complex and variegated, worthy of a learned volume by a medico-psychologist. . . .

The word is still common in the American underworld, meaning 'pimp' in the sense of a man who lives with a prostitute and takes her earnings. I have also heard it applied to someone who commercializes a homosexual man, but am just now doing some work among criminal homosexuals and have *not* encountered the word in their argot.

My own belief is that Melville went out of his way to define this term in order to forestall readers

who might get Professor Maurer's meaning out of it. Otherwise, why should he define the word at all? Nevertheless, I am not too sure, and Professor Maurer's correspondence has aroused some doubts.

I failed to give a definition for the term *Pope's head*, for the simple reason that I could not. But Professor Maurer very kindly gave me one which I think should be recorded:

In a cursory search I fail to find the word in any dictionary, but in my experience it is a fancy knot, rather ornamental than useful (though it once may have had a specific use) and now practically obsolete except among old-timers. I certainly couldn't tie one for you, but would recognize it immediately if I saw one. It somewhat resembles a rose-knot in shape, although the interwoven bights, when tightened, make a solid knob at the end of a line, roughly suggesting an elongated human head with the line itself suggesting the neck. However, the interwoven rope gives the surface of the knot a lumpy or nodulous appearance, and I suspect that herein lies the comparison to the haircut, which probably was on the amateur side. At least, that is the way I would interpret the reference.

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WORDS, WORDS, WORDS

A *Whoop and Holler* is a mid-western name for a theater where 'westerns' are shown. *Tearjerker* is still a current name for a sentimental movie.

'Since the Stuart opened to the movie-going public, on the night of June 10, 1929, it has been the standard bearer of Lincoln theaters. It is, in the lingo of the show business, the town's *deluxer*. It has the

most seats, has the only loge area, and lounges on every tier of the seating.' Lincoln (Nebraska) *Evening State Journal*, December 3, 1941.

'A new word *superruggles* has been coined in connection with the moving picture ["Old Tucson," filmed from Clarence Budington Kelland's "Arizona" by Columbia Pictures Corp. under the direction of Wesley Ruggles] which not only describes the colossal production, but also pays tribute to the great accomplishment of the producer-director.' *Hoofs and Horns*, Tucson, Arizona, December, 1940.

Yvette of the Penthouse Party Radio is sometimes called the Blue Network *creoriole*, because of her intriguing accent and her Louisiana origin.

'Dining?' said Kelly Coates. . . . 'What time do these *budlets* dine? It's eight now.' From *The Secret of the Marshbanks*, by Kathleen Norris, 1941.

'Warning to Wives of *Read-in-Bedders*.' From an advertisement in the New York *Herald Tribune* of *Reading I've Liked*, by Clifton Fadiman, November 23, 1941.

The Scalawagons of Oz is the title of a book by John R. Neil, issued in 1941. A scalawagon is a sort of magic automobile invented by the Wizard of Oz.

'Midland's efficient *Publicitor* Resigns' headed a news item sent out by the United Press from Fremont, Nebraska. 'Paul O. Ridings . . . had been at Midland College only a year and a half, but that time was enough to establish him

as one of the leading publicity men of the nation.'

COWBOY EUPHEMISMS FOR DYING

A striking number of euphemisms for dying and death impressed me in two copies of *Hoofs and Horns* which I recently examined. This interesting monthly magazine is the official publication of the R.A.A. (Rodeo Association of America) and the C.T.A. (Cowboys' Turtle Association), the cowboys' union, whose motto is 'Slow but Sure.' It is edited by Ethel A. (Ma) Hopkins in Tucson, Arizona.

The death of Poker Jack, the honest gambler of San Pedro, is related by Broncho Pete (Lorenzo D. Walters) in the November, 1940, issue. Jack contracted pneumonia, and someone brought the local 'gospel sharp' to his bedside. He 'proceeded t' blaze th' one way, no detour trail f'r Jack's benefit.'

When the preacher man stopped once t' catch his breath, Jack asked, 'Mr. Preacher Man, when I *cash in my last stack of blues*, will I go t' heaven?'

'I hope so, Brother Jack.'

'F you 'n' me both *snuff out*, will we both go t' heaven and have long white wings 'n' be able t' fly?'

'I sure do hope so.'

'All right, Mr. Preacher Man, I've got just exactly seven hundred 'n' fifty smackers under my pillow what says that 'f you 'n' me both go t' heaven 'n' have nice long wings, that I'll fly faster 'n' you.'

Jack smiled, made a gasp f'r breath what had slipped away 'n' *went a hunting f'r signs down th' Long One Way Trail*, game to the last.

Tribute was paid in the December, 1940, issue of *Hoofs and Horns* to Tom Mix, who met his death

October 12 near Tucson. The editors headed their tribute 'Tom Mix Has Taken the Long Trail,' and the first paragraph carries out the figure:

Tom Mix, America's most colorful cowboy, as well as circus performer, soldier, law enforcement officer, and motion picture star, the idol of millions all over the world, has laid down his honors won through the years and *taken the sunset trail* that leads to the *Last Roundup*.

A personal friend of his contributed a poem beginning:

He's gone to ride on another range
Along with Buffalo Bill
And all the cowboys who have gone
Beyond that purple hill.

Other euphemisms I noticed were in headlines: "'California Frank" Hafley *Answers Last Call*' and 'Bill Steele *Rides to Last Roundup*.'

MAMIE J. MEREDITH
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'CALLITHUMPIANS'

An inquirer wishes to know whether the so-called *Callithumpians*, or groups of 'horribles' who, in his boyhood days in California, used to come at the end of Fourth of July and other processions, wearing all sorts of garbs and grotesque disguises, are still extant anywhere. In the mid-nineteenth century the *Callithumpians* (from the verb *callithump*, built from the Muse *Calliope* + *thump*) were primarily rowdy bands operating discordant incongruous instruments and making all possible noise parading the streets on New Year's Eve or other special occasions, or serving the

functions of the charivari. The *DAE* cites as its earliest instance a reference to 'Callithumpians' or the 'Callithumpian band' (1848) entered in Bartlett's *Glossary of Americanisms*. Its following instances take the use of the word through the century. The name was applied to the persons making up the band as well as to the band itself; perhaps also to rowdily conducted groups tagging processions, even though they were without discordant instruments. The latter use seems to be that known to the inquirer as a youth on the western coast. Whether traces of the Callithumpians are left by the middle of the twentieth century seems doubtful. The institution of the charivari (shivaree) remains, but the Callithumpians seem to be obsolete or archaic.

L. P.

'TALKI-TALKI' LANGUAGE

According to a dispatch sent out by the North American Newspaper Alliance, November 20, 1941:

The American soldiers newly-arrived in Dutch Guiana (Surinam) are getting an earful of one of the strangest tongues in the world. It is the 'Talki-Talki' language, a mixture of Dutch, French, Spanish, English and Negro dialect, used by the polyglot native population.

Here are some samples of this strange tongue, used nowhere else in the world:

Dissi na wan mooie oema. (This is one fine girl.)

Fai tang. (Good morning.)

Koneli. (Good evening.)

Sopi. (Drink.)

Me wanni yang. (I want something to eat.)

Chari me na hotel. (Bring me to the hotel.)

Presidentie Roosevelt foe Amerka senni sroedatie na Sranam toe wakkie bauxiti. (President Roosevelt of America sends soldiers to Surinam to guard the bauxite.)

Tanki masra. (Thank you sir.)

Omeni monie. (How much does this cost.)

Dissi na wan mooie day. (This is a fine day.)

Me breti to see you. (I am glad to see you.)

Me fieri boen. (I feel fine.)

Go we. (Go away.)

'WELDORS'

The appearance of *welders* with a new suffix was commented on in a newspaper item of January 4, 1942, as follows: 'The American Federation of Labor has lately been cracking down on its welders because they want a separate union rather than to be classed with building workers or shipbuilding trades. But the welders were adamant, and finally withdrew from the A.F. of L. metal trades union to set up their own organization. . . . Being convinced by the A.F. of L. leadership that there aren't any "welders" as a distinct craft, the boys decided to call themselves *weldors*—not welders, mind you, but weldors. So we now have a new Brotherhood of Weldors, Cutters, and Helpers of America.'

THE INTERNATIONAL PHONETIC ALPHABET

	Bi-labial	Labio-dental	Dental and Alveolar	Retroflex	Palato-alveolar	Alveolo-palatal	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngeal	Glottal
Plosive	p b		t d	t̪ d̪			c ɟ	k g	q ɢ		ʔ
Nasal	m	ɱ	n	ɳ			ɲ	ŋ	ɴ		
Lateral Fricative .			ɬ ɮ								
Lateral Non-fricative .			l	ɭ			ʎ				
Rolled			r						ʀ		
Flapped			ɾ	ɽ					ʀ		
Fricative	ɸ β	f v	θ ð s z	ʃ ʒ	ç ʝ			ɣ ʁ	χ ʁ	ħ ʕ	h ɦ
Frictionless Continnants and Semi-vowels	w ɥ	ʋ	ɹ		j ɟ		j (ɥ)	(w)	ʁ		
Close	(y u u)						Front i y	Central ɨ u	Back u u		
Half-close	(ø o)						e ø	ə	ɔ		
Half-open	(æ ɔ)						ɛ œ	æ	ʌ ɔ		
Open	(ɒ)						ɐ	a	ʊ ʊ		

(Secondary articulations are shown by symbols in brackets.)

OTHER SOUNDS.—Palatalized consonants: *t*, *d*, etc. Velarized or pharyngalized consonants: *ṭ*, *ḍ*, *z*, etc. Ejective consonants (plosives with simultaneous glottal stop): *p'*, *t'*, etc. Implosive voiced consonants: *ɓ*, *d'*, etc. *ɓ* fricative trill. *σ*, *g* (labialized *θ*, *ð*, or *s*, *z*). *ʃ*, *ʒ* (labialized *f*, *ʒ*). *ɬ*, *ɮ* (clicks, Zulu *c*, *q*, *x*). *ɿ* (a sound between *r* and *l*). *ɹ* (voiceless *w*). *ɻ*, *ɹ* (lowered varieties of *i*, *y*, *u*). *ɹ* (a variety of *e*). *e* (a vowel between *ø* and *o*).

Affricates are normally represented by groups of two consonants (ts, tʃ, dʒ, etc.), but, when necessary, ligatures are used (tsʃ, dʒʃ, etc.), or the marks ̣ or ̤ (tṣ or ts̤, etc.). c, ʃ may occasionally be used in place of tʃ, dʒ. Aspirated plosives ph, th, etc.

LENGTH, STRESS, PITCH. — : (full length). · (half length). ' (stress, placed at beginning of the stressed syllable). ' (secondary stress). ¯ (high level pitch); - (low level); ´ (high rising); , (low rising); ˆ (high falling); ˘ (low falling); ˇ (fall-rise). See *Écriture Phonétique Internationale*, p. 9.

MODIFIERS.— ~ nasality. ° breath (*i* = breathed *l*). ◊ voice (*s* = *z*). ‘ slight aspiration following *p*, *t*, etc. specially close vowel (*e* = a very close *e*). ◌, specially open vowel (*e* = a rather open *e*). ◌ labialization *ɱ* = labialized *n*). “ dental articulation (*t̪* = dental *t*). ° palatalization (*ʃ* = *ç*). ◌ tongue slightly raised. ◌ lips more rounded. ◌ lips more spread. Central vowels *y* (= *ɨ*), *ü* (= *ʉ*), *ö* (= *œ*), *õ* (= *ɔ̄*), (e.g. *n*) syllabic consonant. ◌ consonantal vowel. ◌ variety of *f* resembling *s*, etc.

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